

America

MAY 7, 1949

Vol. 81, Number 5

A CATHOLIC REVIEW OF THE WEEK

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MAY 5 1949

BATTLE OF THE FOURTH ROUND

The wage-price seesaw starts rocking again

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ELECTION IN NORTH IRELAND

Bullets and ballots and Orange Supremacy

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A theology lost out in the referendum

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His problems still plague the Catholic editor

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*False principles
at Paris*

*Freedom to educate
endangered*

Labor links abroad

*Perils
of childhood*

BOOKS REVIEWED:

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Barbara Celarent

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Time out in the cold war?

According to the Tass Agency report of April 25, Russia seems willing to lift the Berlin blockade on condition that the Western Powers set a date for a Four Power conference on the German question as a whole. As this is the first break in the position the USSR took in London in 1947, everyone is asking, "Why?" A variety of reasons can be guessed. The Berlin blockade has failed in its purpose. Further, the Western Powers set in motion very effective counter-measures by blocking trade between the Soviet and Western zones of Germany. Since their economic unification, and especially since the currency reform of last June, the Western zones have increased their productivity from 50 per cent of 1936 to 85 per cent. Russia was quickly losing western Germany to the Atlantic Powers. With the signing of the Atlantic Pact, the United States, Great Britain and France quickly agreed on a new occupation statute for Germany, offering the Germans an opportunity to form a Western German Federal Republic (AM. 4/23, p. 105). The next move would be to bring Western Germany into the Council of Europe, OEEC, and possibly even into the Pact itself. On April 24, just one day before the Tass report, the German Parliamentary Council in Bonn was reported to have come to an agreement on the main lines of a German constitution. Thus the industrial Ruhr, Russia's main interest in western Europe, was slipping far out of her control. The Kremlin had to act fast to keep up with this democratic footwork. She decided to call time out in the hope of persuading the Germans that she can still save German national unity and get all occupation troops out of Germany through a Four Power Conference.

Allied misgivings

The U.S. State Department, which has been feeling Russia out through Dr. Philip C. Jessup's informal conversations with Jacob A. Malik, wants the Kremlin to state in writing when and under what circumstances the Berlin blockade will be lifted before we resume the Four Power negotiations. The airlift has cost us nearly \$125 million in the course of about 310 days. The cost to us of shutting off trade between western Germany and the East has been very heavy. But, having been bitten before, we are twice shy. Whatever happens, we must keep the airlift organized and ready to resume. Russia is probably stalling for time. With her sweeping victories in China, she can afford to stall in Europe. Maybe she is only distracting us from our losses in China, the full impact of which we have not yet realized. When we realize them, the Berlin blockade will seem episodic.

"Fair Deal" in health

The undiscourageable man from Missouri appealed anew to Congress on April 22 for a public health insurance plan to meet the cost of everyone's medical, dental and hospital expenses. Three days later an omnibus bill, incorporating the legislative conclusions of the President's Message, was introduced in both houses of Congress by ten Administration stalwarts. The Truman \$6-billion program calls for the expansion of medical schools,

CURRENT COMMENT

increased aid for hospitals, for community health centers, for diagnostic and group-practice clinics, for medical research and public-health facilities. The core (and the crux) of the Administration proposal is a compulsory insurance system embracing all persons now covered by social security, and all the self-employed and their dependents. The insurance fund would be made up of payroll deductions of 1½ per cent levied on employers and a like amount on employees up to the first \$4,800 of a person's annual income. The Federal Government proposes to add from its own general tax revenues amounts equaling one-half of one per cent of payrolls the first year, one per cent subsequently. The insurance fund would cover complete free medical, dental and hospital care through doctors of the patients' choosing. Actual operation and administration would be in the hands of State boards and local committees. The President's objective is universally accepted. It is "to make available enough medical services to go around to see that everyone has a chance to obtain these services." Organized medicine, speaking through the AMA, declares that compulsory public health insurance will regiment doctors and patients alike, that the American people should learn to budget for the cost of medical care at the price of a package of cigarettes a day or a movie a week. The Truman retort: "Medical care is needed as a right and not as a medical dole." Hearings on the Administration measure will begin promptly. Action is not expected until the next session of Congress. AMERICA, in the very near future, will offer an analysis of the issues involved.

Senate acts on housing

More than three months after assembling in Washington, the 81st Congress finally got around to a piece of "Fair Deal" legislation. On April 21 the Senate approved the Administration's housing bill by a vote of 57 to 13. Before the vote was taken, Senator Taft warned a Republican conference that the Party would have to support social-welfare measures or go on losing elections. The warning was effective. Only eleven Republican votes were cast against the bill. The principal provisions are these: 1) Federal loans of \$1 billion and grants of \$500 million for slum clearance over the next five years; 2) Federal support, through loans and credit backing, for a maximum of 810,000 units of low-rent housing in the next six years; 3) a housing research program to find improved methods and techniques; 4) Federal grants of

\$25 million and loans up to \$250 million to farmers for modernization of their homes and buildings. Only once was the smooth passage of the bill through the Senate seriously threatened by a squall. That blew up when Senator Bricker, who opposed almost every provision of the bill and eventually voted against it, introduced an amendment to bar segregation in public housing projects. Civil-rights advocates, who also favor housing, dodged that one. They knew as well as Senator Bricker that an anti-segregation amendment would cost thirty Southern votes. Now the bill goes to the House, which on four previous occasions has turned down omnibus housing legislation approved by the Senate. This time the story should be different.

Installment curbs eased

For the second time in two months the Federal Reserve Board relaxed the curb on installment buying (known as Regulation W). As of Wednesday, April 27, buyers were given twenty-four months instead of twenty-one to complete their purchases, and down-payments, except for automobiles, were cut from fifteen to ten per cent. The Board exempted from all regulation the purchase of furniture, appliances and other articles costing less than \$100. In making the announcement, Board Chairman Thomas B. McCabe explained that in many lines the threat of price inflation has passed.

Most of the commodities subject to the regulation are now in supply at prices more favorable to the consumer than prevailed last year. Any increase in credit to which relaxation of the regulation might contribute would not, under present circumstances, be a significant element in reviving inflationary pressures.

Mr. McCabe was careful to add, however, that if an inflationary condition were to arise again, the board would act quickly to meet it. That hedge was emphasized the same day by a report on living costs. The Bureau of Labor Statistics announced that the five-month decline in its consumer price index had been reversed during the period February 15 to March 15. During that month retail prices of goods and services bought by moderate-income families in large cities advanced 0.3 per cent. Food led the way, rising 1 per cent, but miscellaneous goods and rents also jumped. Most observers, despite the increase in food prices, which was expected, continue to worry more about recession than inflation. So far the expected April pick-up in business and employment has not taken place.

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Carson to FTC

Few Presidential nominations have provoked more bitter opposition in recent years than the naming, on April 7, of John Carson to fill the unexpired term of Robert E. Freer on the Federal Trade Commission. Part of the opposition, as typified by Senator Brewster, seems largely political in motivation. The fact that Mr. Freer is a Republican and Mr. Carson an independent naturally does not sit well with the GOP. That sort of opposition is understandable and not too disturbing. What is disturbing is the strenuous fight against Mr. Carson's confirmation currently being conducted by the radio commentator, Fulton Lewis Jr. and some of the most reactionary elements in the business world. On the face of it, John Carson is just the kind of man the country wants in a position of public trust. A gentleman of impeccable character, thoroughly honest, devoid of vulgar desire for power, devoted to democratic ideals, he is richly endowed to discharge the obligations of an FTC commissioner. A one-time city editor in Indianapolis, he was for some years a Washington correspondent. From 1924 to 1936 he was secretary to the late Senator James Couzens of Michigan. Washington veterans still recall his many contributions to the nation in that responsible position. More recently he has been acting as director of the Washington office of the Cooperative League of the U.S.A. Throughout his career, Mr. Carson has striven to promote friendly collaboration among all groups in our society. His other chief interest has been to encourage widespread ownership and the responsibility that goes with it. Can it be, perhaps, that reactionaries fear Mr. Carson's well-known dislike for monopoly and the intelligence and zeal he would exert in combating it? The Senate should react to this deplorable campaign by confirming Mr. Carson fast and fearlessly.

Diplomatic ins and outs

The U. S. Department of State and the foreign service are like the city of New York—they will be wonderful if they ever stop being built. As James Reston pointed out in the *New York Times* for April 14, the soldiers and bankers are trooping out of top U. S. policy jobs and leaving Dean Acheson, Secretary of State, with too few men and the task of finding capable replacements. The good thing about this is that people like Henry Wallace are having the ground cut from under them in their charges that the bankers and the brass are getting us into war. The bad thing is that, what with the sacrifices a capable man has to make to take a top policy job, we must wonder where the new policy-makers will come from. Following the replacement of Jefferson Caffrey by David K. E. Bruce as Ambassador at Paris, and that of Lt. Gen. Walter Bedell Smith by Vice Admiral Alan G. Kirk at Moscow, came the announcement of the retirement of Kenneth C. Royall as Secretary of the Army. His successor has not yet been announced. The news soon followed that John L. Sullivan had handed in his resignation as Secretary of the Navy. There is a Psalm which prays that God will guard our "goings in and comings out." We might well pray that He will guard the "goings

in" of the replacements. In these times we need a clear policy, a firm policy and a continuity of policy. It will take excellent men to achieve that, and there are excellent men. But can the President recruit them at the salaries we now pay in the Federal service?

For the record

On April 19 President Truman signed a bill authorizing \$5,430,000,000 for the European Recovery Program. The money is supposed to carry the program over the next fifteen months. Significantly, the President, who no doubt was pleased that the bill had passed, made no comment on signing it. Himself a graduate of the Congress, he knows the difference between a bill *authorizing* money and a bill *appropriating* it. Though chances are good that the entire sum will eventually be appropriated, a group in the Senate, led by Messrs. Taft and Byrd, is certain to make another effort to lop off half-a-billion or so. Some kind of plan is afoot to offer a bill later in the session cutting all appropriations a flat ten per cent. No matter how injudicious such a sweeping approach to delicate budget matters may be, it will have an appeal if the Congress is forced one of these days to choose between raising taxes and facing a deficit in fiscal 1950. On April 27, Mr. Truman, seeking to head off opposition, cut the ECA request by \$157,800,000. Lower prices, he said, made the reduction possible.

Hope deferred on Cardinal Mindszenty

Friends of human freedom got cold comfort from the United Nations April 22, when the General Assembly's *ad hoc* Political Committee gingerly by-passed the case of Cardinal Mindszenty and other victims of persecution in Hungary and Bulgaria. A lukewarm Bolivian resolution was adopted which left the case on the agenda for next fall's session and recommended action in the meantime by way of the peace treaties with the ex-enemy states. This was the method favored by the United States and Britain. It does not require UN approval; but it is very slow. Cuban and Australian proposals to send a commission of inquiry were voted down on the grounds of "interference in the internal affairs" of the offending nations. Since Hungary and Bulgaria have been refused UN membership, it was felt that they would not admit the commissions anyway. There was a fear, too, that the Slav bloc might at some future date use such a commission of inquiry purely for propaganda purposes. The debate was characterized by a good deal of absenteeism, and there were many abstentions in the voting, even among the Catholic Latin-American countries. All in all, it was a dispiriting spectacle. The best one could say was that at least public attention had once more been drawn to religious persecution behind the Iron Curtain.

Spain and the United Nations

As we go to press, the issue of whether or not the UN General Assembly will debate the case of Franco Spain is in the balance. On December 12, 1946 the General Assembly adopted a resolution condemning the Franco regime, barring it from membership in the UN and its

specialized agencies, and recommending to all UN members the immediate recall from Madrid of their ambassadors and ministers plenipotentiary. With some exceptions, notably Argentina, most members complied. But times have changed since this Soviet-inspired resolution was meekly passed. In March, 1947 the United States announced its vigorously anti-communistic Truman Doctrine. In June, 1947 the Marshall Plan was foreshadowed. The fiction that "fascism" was the great threat to peace has been replaced by the reality of the communist threat. On November 17, 1947 the UN General Assembly merely expressed its confidence that the Security Council would exercise its responsibilities under the Charter as soon as it found that the Spanish situation constituted a "threat." Since this "threat" never materialized, the Council has consistently omitted Spain from its agenda. Poland, fronting for the anti-Spanish Soviet bloc, therefore placed the topic on the agenda of the General Assembly for the present session. Things are different now, however, and one country (Brazil) wants to raise the Spanish question for reasons opposite to those of Poland. Brazil will propose a resolution asking for the return of heads of diplomatic missions to Madrid, on the score that Brazil and other countries without diplomatic representation in the Spanish capital have been laboring under a disadvantage. The UN hostility towards Franco was so arbitrary in its acceptance of the hypocritical Soviet line that it boomeranged. Franco has been strengthened instead of weakened on his home grounds. Spaniards who have had to choose between Stalin and Franco have not hesitated to choose Franco. He may not have the right friends, but he certainly has the right enemies—in fact, the same enemies we have.

U. S. position on the Spanish issue

The latest U. S. position, should a paragraph-by-paragraph vote give us the opportunity to unfold it, will probably be as follows: 1) we will vote against a repeal of the preamble clause of the 1946 resolution condemning Franco Spain; 2) we will abstain from voting, as we did before, on the question of withdrawal of ambassadors and ministers; 3) we will vote in favor of lifting the bars to Spain's participation in the UN's specialized agencies, but not in favor of admitting her to membership in the UN itself, thus leaving it up to the specialized agencies themselves to decide in each case whether or not they want to admit Franco Spain. The fact that Russia has boycotted these agencies may make them more friendly to Spain. Why this mincing behavior on our part? We are letting others carry the ball in order to evade a Polish trap. Any U. S. move in favor of Spain will be publicized by the Soviet bloc as evidence of our fondness for "fascist" Spain, motivated by our desire to embrace her in the "imperialistic" and "war-mongering" Atlantic alliance. Even in the Western democracies the feeling against Spain on the part of labor and other important political groups creates a formidable hazard. We cannot risk playing into the hands of our enemies and alienating our friends without overpowering necessity. The Spaniards have been in politics for enough centuries to under-

stand these maneuvers. When the chips are down, strategic considerations and the profound differences between Spanish shortcomings and Soviet villainy will transform people's perspectives. The change will prove a bitter pill for "liberals," but the harsh realities of a world facing ruin has taught them not to be so queasy as they once were.

Italian recovery

If American taxpayers want to know whether their investment in European recovery is paying off, they might well take a look at Italy. Not much more than a year ago that war-shattered country was ravaged by inflation, scourged with unemployment and menaced by the biggest Communist Party outside Russia. Today Italy has one of the more stable governments in Europe. The Communist threat, while still alive, is much less menacing. Economic conditions have considerably improved. During the past year the naturally industrious Italian people built or repaired 960,000 rooms in private dwellings and schoolhouses, 400 miles of aqueducts, over a thousand miles of roads, almost 300 bridges, and raised electric power ten per cent over pre-war. Exports boomed from \$54 million in 1947 to \$900 million last year, which is only \$200 million shy of the 1938 figure. The 1949 Milan Samples Fair broke all records, no less than twenty-two countries being represented by official displays. Only limitations of space kept the total of private exhibitors from exceeding 6,000. Difficulties remain, of course. Industry badly needs capital; some two million unemployed are on relief; the Communists remain a formidable power in the Italian Confederation of Labor. Marshall-Plan aid alone cannot solve the great problem of Italy, which is too many people on a land too poor to support them. The solution must come from Lake Success, where the Great Powers will one day settle the issue of Italy's pre-war colonies. Meanwhile the Marshall Plan has given the Italian people new life and hope. Maybe it even saved their lovely land from the horrors of communist rule.

Israel and the UN

For thirty years it was common talk among Zionists that Britain was blowing hot and cold on the Balfour Declaration of 1917 guaranteeing a "Jewish homeland" in Palestine. At the present moment we cannot but feel that the Israel Government's attitude toward the United Nations rather closely parallels the duplicity charged against Britain. Israel is anxious to be admitted to the UN and proclaims its willingness to abide by the UN Charter. Yet, what is the record? On November 29, 1947 the UN decided that Jerusalem and its environs should be internationalized. Israel will have none of it. The UN Conciliation Commission for Palestine reported on April 20 that the Israel Government stood firm on its refusal to accept the UN decision. On April 23, President Chaim Weizmann of Israel, speaking in New York, saw in the existence of the State of Israel "the realization of an international judgment made by the United Nations eighteen months ago." He promised "to

encourage and accept the fullest international controls and safeguards" for the Holy Places. Just what is the Israel Government talking about? On September 17 of last year the UN's special envoy to Palestine, Count Bernadotte, was murdered. His murderers are still at large in Israel and there is no sign that the Israel Government is doing anything about it. On December 4, 1948, the UN General Assembly called for the return to their homes of all refugees of the Palestine war. Israel is resisting the return of Arab refugees to Palestine. The UN Palestine Conciliation Commission, presently meeting at Lausanne, is trying to induce Israel to conform to the General Assembly's decision of last December. Like the British weekly *Spectator*, we feel that

more needs to be known about Israel's intentions on certain points before the final seal is given to her international position. Does she, for example, propose to do anything about the Arab refugees except quibble? Was the round-up of the Stern gang which followed Bernadotte's assassination just a piece of window dressing, or is there still a serious intention to bring his murderers to book? Does Israel mean to block, or to cooperate with, the United Nations' plans for the internationalization of Jerusalem?

Before Israel is admitted to the United Nations, it would be reassuring if its Government could point to at least one instance in which it took seriously the judgment of the world organization in which it is so eagerly seeking membership.

Catholic Renaissance Society

The tenth anniversary meeting of the Catholic Renaissance Society was a refreshing contrast, one observer remarked, to the academic and often sterile proceedings of many learned literary societies today. The four hundred people who gathered at Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart, New York, April 19 and 20, were met to discuss modern literature in terms of the whole nature of man—man created in God's image, man whose humanity was assumed by the Divine Word, man redeemed by the blood of Christ, man moving, for his own making or undoing, in the framework of divine grace. Two laymen, Dr. Frank O'Malley of Notre Dame and Dr. Helmut A. Hatzfeld of the Catholic University of America, developed the great theme in their papers: "The Renaissance of the Novel: From Bloy to Graham Greene" and "The Renaissance of Literary Criticism: From Bremond to Guardini." All the five papers read reflected the re-awakening of Catholic ideas in literature. The Catholic novelist, poet, essayist, critic today cannot be content with the outward presentation only of Catholic living; he must face the terrible questions that men ask themselves in the modern world and offer an answer in terms of his Catholic faith. In the ten years of its existence the Catholic Renaissance Society has done a notable work of giving depth and root to Catholic literary thinking in America, and has brought American Catholics into closer touch with the larger world of Catholic letters. To spread the influence of its meeting, the Society plans to publish the papers read as a booklet later in the year.

WASHINGTON FRONT

Within the next few weeks the American people, and specifically the Congress, will have a chance to know what kind of country they want this to be for the next few years. Low-income housing, medical insurance, labor legislation, farm-income support, extension of social security—these are only some of the domestic problems, though probably the principal ones, with which our legislators will be wrestling in the days to come.

Unfortunately, semantics has already raised its ugly head, and issues are being pre-judged by such phrases as regimentation of farmers, socialized medicine, etc.

Take, for instance, Secretary Brannan's ingenious plan for farm-income support. The point about all previous farm legislation was that it nullified or in some way got around the law of supply and demand for food and other commodities. The farmer was subsidized to under-produce, and thus keep prices high; or, if he was allowed to over-produce (remember those potatoes?), the Government bought the surplus and held it off the market, and prices of food were still artificially high. In all this previous legislation, the taxpayer paid twice: in higher prices, in taxes for subsidies.

It is claimed for Mr. Brannan's scheme that under it the consumer will pay only once. Prices for food, etc., will be allowed to sink to their natural level under the law of supply and demand, and the Government will make up the difference to the farmer out of taxes. Will the lower prices for food outbalance the amount of taxes for subsidies? That is for Mr. Brannan to prove. Naturally, the Government is not going to let the farmers go hog-wild in over-production, and here is where the cry of regimentation comes in. But was not the farmer regimented in former plans? He was, and he loved it. He had an assured income. And the American people do not seem to be aware of the billions of dollars in free subsidies the Treasury, under orders from Congress, has paid out for products all the way from potatoes to airlines—\$300 million in 1949 alone to the civil airlines.

The point I am trying to make is that Congress, Republican or Democratic, has, whenever it could, nullified free enterprise (competition and law of supply and demand). The case of the farmers and food prices is fairly recent, dating back to Harding. But prices for industrial products have been kept artificially high for generations through the protective tariff.

It seems to me to be a question of who gets what. Industry got governmental protection against the law of supply and demand long ago. It fought for years against the same protection for agriculture, but finally gave in, under Republican Administrations at that. A third sector of our economy, labor, is still fighting, with the handicap that it fights for wages, not prices. The non-producing sector is still left to struggle out in the cold. But its turn may come.

WILFRID PARSONS

UNDERSCORINGS

Founded to meet the needs of workingmen who are unable to make a closed retreat of several days. St. Joseph's Retreat League in Boston is providing a monthly meeting of retreat for nearly three hundred men. Ninety per cent of the retreatants return and become more or less regular attendants—a remarkable percentage, since the program is strenuous enough to discourage the merely curious. Each three-hour session, begun with the rosary and ended with Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, is broken up into three conferences and two informal discussions. The directors of the League, Fathers Edward Murphy, Paul Murphy and Felix Talbot of the Society of Jesus, have deliberately avoided publicity and any artificial stimulation of interest. The word has been spread by the men themselves, and the response has exceeded the directors' hopes. Already the time is in sight when the League, not yet a year old, will have outgrown its quarters in the parish school building made available by Old St. Mary's Church.

► Student associations in France, in particular the French National Union of Students, have succeeded in convincing the National Assembly that social-security coverage should be extended to students. A student is defined as one "for whom attendance at a school of graduate (superior) study is the principal activity." Quite understandably, two years of failures in examinations disqualify one for student status under the law.

► Governor Chester A. Bowles of Connecticut has appointed Rev. Joseph F. Donnelly as Chairman of the State Board of Mediation and Arbitration. Father Donnelly is the founder of the Hartford Diocesan Labor Institute, served on the National War Labor Board and has been member of the State Board of Mediation and Conciliation since 1944. He was active in promoting the State FEPC.

► The *Needle*, organ of the Intercollegiate Newman Club of Cleveland, Ohio, notes that two members of that club were officially accredited to the Cleveland meeting of the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO . . . The *Forum*, published by the Newman Club of the University of Toronto, ran a very lively discussion of compulsory health insurance. Participants were a medical student and followers of Canada's chief political parties—Progressive-Conservative, Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, Liberal, and Liberal Progressive.

► The Catholic University of America announces a Workshop on Education for Marriage and Family Living to be held June 10-21 at the university. Besides daily general conferences there will be seminars on Premarital and Marital Programs; Education for Family Living in High Schools; Education for Marriage and the Family in Colleges; Problems of Marriage Educators in the Armed Forces; Education for Marriage in Medical and Nursing Schools. For details, write to the Registrar at Catholic University, Washington, D. C.

C. K.

Judgment on the State

Department

The sweep of the Chinese communist armies across the Yangtze has rendered an unanswerable judgment on the Chinese policy, or lack of it, followed by our State Department. It is the judgment of events.

Ever since 1868, the United States Government has been committed, for reasons of our own national security, to the sound policy of maintaining the territorial integrity of China. This policy formed the backbone of Cordell Hull's refusal to bargain away China in his futile negotiations with Japan right up to the hour of Pearl Harbor.

Beginning in 1945, however, the State Department began to act as if China meant nothing to us. When Russian troops failed to withdraw from Manchuria within three weeks after the Japanese surrender, as they had promised in the Sino-Soviet Treaty, we took to the sidelines. When, in contravention of the Treaty, Russia provided the Chinese Communists with Japanese arms and munitions captured in Manchuria, we stood idly by.

President Truman then sent General Marshall to spend thirteen months in China (November, 1945 to December, 1946) trying to persuade Chiang Kai-shek to form a "coalition" with the Communists, instead of trying to find out how we could help him to get rid of them. Our persuasive technique was to withhold the military aid we had promised Chiang unless he played ball with his—and our—mortal enemies. Further, we earmarked credits for China and then refused to carry through the loans. Finally, we failed to give adequate military aid to the Nationalists when the communist rebels were gathering strength to carry out the Kremlin's long-range aims in China. This Review has been complaining about this do-nothing policy for a long time, and predicting its inevitable dénouement (AM. 2/28/48; 12/18/48; 1/22/49; 2/5/49).

Why were our minds paralyzed in thinking about China? What excuse was there for men like General Patrick Hurley and foreign correspondent Brooks Atkinson of the *New York Times* telling us that the Chinese Communists were merely "agrarian rebels?" Why was no attention paid to the first-class report on *Communism in China* of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs in 1948? Was it plain incompetence in the Far Eastern Division of the State Department—or the work of friends of Russia? *The American public is going to find out, and the people to blame are going to have to pay politically for their blunders, or even "disloyalty."*

Secretary Acheson has shown himself much opposed to Senator McCarron's proposal of \$1.5 billion aid to Nationalist China. The State Department on December 19, 1948 gave a lot of publicity to the \$2 billion worth of military aid which we had supposedly given to China since the war. It has pretended that Chiang's failure to make better use of this aid has destroyed all hope of effectiveness from further aid. Our newspapers have parroted this line with suspicious monotony.

The *China Monthly* for last October carried an article by Col. W. Bruce Pirnie, USAF. Res., who was

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Chief Liaison Officer of Supply in his areas between the Chinese Army and the U. S. Army. Of 60,000 tons of ammunition supposedly made available to Chiang's armies, Col. Pirnie contended that very little was of the type vitally needed, much could not be identified and was in any case of doubtful serviceability. The American China Policy Association on December 24, 1948, issued a critical analysis of the State Department's figures as reported in the *New York Times*. For example, of \$728 million listed as "military lend-lease," fully \$600 million were allocated for the transport of Chiang's troops to take Japanese surrenders. This analysis gives a grand total of only \$257 million worth of items, including arms, since V-J day.

All one has to do is to read the London *Economist* for April 23, 1949 to get a completely different perspective on China. The *Economist's* position is simple and seemingly unanswerable: if the American (and British) policy of aid to Chiang was right in the first place, it is still right, since anti-communist forces can survive in China for a long time and at comparatively little cost. Even the *New York Times* is beginning to think that "we can wait and see only up to a point." If we could see, we probably wouldn't wait any longer.

False principles at Paris

It wound up its sessions on April 25—surely the strangest "Peace Congress" the world has ever seen. The Partisans for Peace conducted the Congress, which was made up largely of the same Communists, the fellow travelers and dupes who had assembled in New York for a Red "week-end at the Waldorf" last month. But at Paris they outdid themselves.

There were, of course, the usual tirades against the "war-mongering West," the "imperialism and militarism of Wall Street and Washington." This was to have been expected. More ominous was the rejection of any attempt to urge a compromise in the Chinese war, and the frenzied cheering that greeted the announcement of the fall of Nanking.

But no. Perhaps the most ominous statements and thinking were provided by two U. S. delegates, Paul Robeson and O. John Rogge, a former assistant U. S. Attorney General. Paul Robeson defended concentration camps in "a young, growing state like Russia," and said that the inmates were "Fascists" anyway and so belonged there. Mr. Rogge got this off: "We have no right to protest the concentration camps in Russia when conditions for Negroes are what they are in the United States." With this statement Mr. Robeson concurred.

This is an insidious fallacy, but it finds an echo in the thinking of many so-called liberals. What these people fail to see is the difference between a system that canonizes brutal injustice and a system which reprobates it, though it may not always and at all times be able to prevent outbreaks of it. The United States system is of such a nature that, granted its normal functioning, it will automatically, if perhaps gradually, eliminate discrimination. The Soviet system is of such a nature that, granted its normal functioning, it must further extend oppression. Lynching and the oppression of Negroes (or anybody else) is not a *principle* underlying our form of government. But suppression of human freedom and the denial of democratic processes is precisely a *principle* of government in any police state.

The argument that we must be politically lily-white before we can morally castigate monstrous wrongs is nonsense. All over the country there are signs and placards urging us to "Fight Cancer." Only a moron would say, "But we have no right to fight cancer, people still get eczema. Wait till eczema is a totally forgotten affliction—then we'll get to work on cancer."

A physician who did nothing about eczema would be negligent, and the statements of these two U. S. delegates, recklessly immoral as they are, do us the left-handed service of reminding us that every rash of discrimination that breaks out among us demands treatment. But in applying treatment to our ills, we are not thereby rendered blind to see nor mute to protest far more virulent diseases destroying life and liberty across the world.

The perils of childhood

The circus has come to town creating problems for parents larger than the perils of peanuts unwisely mixed with pink lemonade. Grandmothers are sure the children will imitate the high-wire artists on the piazza balustrade. Animal lovers are shocked at the spectacle of trained tigers and performing seals. Child psychologists are concerned about the anti-intellectualism engendered by the gaudy clowns. There is, in addition, the danger of an ideological perversion of the young. So, at least, Nikolai Barzilovitch warns in a three-column article in *Soviet Art*, official organ of the Russian Fine Arts Committee. Reactionary "bourgeois tendencies" have been noted by the ringmaster of the domesticated Soviet artists. Critics who "unrestrainedly praised the decayed circus art of the capitalist countries," must be exposed.

The perils to childhood are not confined to circus-going as spring changes to summer. On the authority of one Jerzy Berek, chairman of the Polish Boy Scouts, monstrous dangers lurk for unsuspecting youth in something called "Baden-Powellism"—a reference, we must assume, to the pernicious ideas of the celebrated Englishman who founded scouting. "Baden-Powellism" is perilous because it is "non-political" in its goals and methodology. It brings up youth "on the pattern of colonial conquerors." It directs the efforts of Scouts "to regions of fantasy."

Mr. Berek is disappointingly unspecific in his indictment of "Baden-Powellism." He neglects to explain how

Boy Scouts are directed to "regions of fantasy." Possibly by their bourgeois pledge: "to do our duty to God and our country . . ." Mr. Barzilovitch is similarly slothful in listing the exact ideological contamination that exposing the young to the circus involves. Are the Soviets made envious by the arrogant billing of the Ringling Brothers—"The Greatest Show on Earth"?

Labor links abroad

On April 23, fifteen hundred people crowded the Grand Ballroom of the Commodore Hotel in Manhattan to honor David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. The occasion marked the twentieth anniversary of his leadership of the union. President Truman sent a message hailing the doughty little labor leader as "a man of vision, integrity and courage." Governor Dewey also sent greetings, as did many other notables, here and abroad. Finally, AFL President William Green presented Mr. Dubinsky with a scroll commemorating the achievements of the ILGWU during the past two decades.

These were features of the occasion, not the highlight. The highlight was Mr. Dubinsky's own talk, which dealt with the supreme issue of the hour. "How are we to fight communism?" he asked the distinguished audience. "How are we to contain its spread, how are we to arrest its corrupting influence upon our youth, upon our racial minorities, upon some of our people who like to proclaim from the housetops that they are true-blue liberals?" And he answered:

For myself I am content to lift a page from a great master, from the speech made by President Roosevelt in Chicago in 1937 in which he suggested that the free world quarantine the nazi aggressors. Today the free world must quarantine the communist aggressors.

To maintain our health and freedom we must put communism in quarantine. And that means more than just placing geographic limits on the expansion of Russia's empire. We must deny the Communists in our midst the cloak of respectability and the stamp of approval.

That is the policy which Mr. Dubinsky has followed with signal success in his own union. Or, rather, that is the negative part of the policy. Under his leadership the ILGWU also developed a positive program for its membership that took all the wind out of the Communists' sails. Having quarantined them, he kept them quarantined by giving them practically nothing to carp about.

Mr. Dubinsky would have the country as a whole follow a similar tactic. "We must get rid of our own black sheep," he said. "We must set an example of democracy that the world will willingly follow."

Turning to the foreign situation, the leader of the ILGWU asserted that the labor movement had its own Marshall Plan long before the European Recovery Program became a reality. He read the record:

We sent funds, material aid, moral support to the free trade unions of Europe because we realized that free trade unions meant freedom. We helped the European workers beat back the assault of the Com-

munists within the organizations of the workers themselves.

No less an authority than ERP Administrator Paul Hoffman has hailed labor's contribution to our foreign policy. It is now generally recognized. Certainly Communist allegations of Wall Street domination of U. S. foreign policy looked pretty silly to European workers when they saw American labor striving enthusiastically to make it a success.

There is, however, one aspect of labor's foreign policy which has long puzzled us. For the most part labor has given its aid to right-wing Socialists and has more or less slighted the other free trade unions of Western Europe. True, these other free trade unions are mostly confessional in philosophy, but that is the way things are over there. The important point is that whether they are dominantly Catholic, as in France and Belgium, or Catholic and Protestant, as in Holland, they are much closer to the philosophy of "business unionism" than are the right-wing Socialists. For our money, the Federation of Christian Syndicates in France looks more like the AFL than does the Force Ouvrière. Why, then, the strong bias in favor of the right-wing Socialists?

We raise the point here, somewhat tactlessly perhaps, because the AFL is reported to be using pressure to force the recently organized Italian Free General Confederation of Labor to disband and form a new grouping with the right-wing Socialists and the Republicans. Since both groups are free now to enter the ICGIL—it is not a Christian trade union—what is the point in this AFL maneuver? At the best it is bound to create confusion. At the worst it may destroy all hope of a unified anti-communist front in Italian labor.

Freedom to educate endangered

A resolution adopted by the National Catholic Educational Association at its Easter-week convention in Philadelphia reaffirmed "the principle that Federal aid should be granted equitably to all schools which serve the public good." Those who want Federal aid granted *inequitably*—to public schools only—can point to the recent Supreme Court interpretation of the First and Fourteenth Amendments as barring both direct and indirect support of any or all religions and religious institutions.

Granted that this interpretation is sound (which it is not), then, continues the NCEA resolution, "the very survival of private and church-related education will be imperiled by the favored position and virtual monopoly of public education." And further: "Such a development would tend to destroy that freedom of education which is fundamental to the individual's right to attend a school of his own or his parents' choice."

We believe that these two predicted consequences of the "no support" view of the Supreme Court deserve a good deal of thought. That a vast Federal-aid program for all levels of public education would endanger the survival of many private and church-related schools was

acknowledged by the President's Commission on Higher Education. In that event, choice of school, which is basic to educational freedom, would be severely restricted and ultimately lost. As Archbishop John T. McNicholas told the NCEA delegates: "If our freedom of education is abridged, frustrated or abolished, all our freedoms will be undermined and eventually destroyed. Monopoly of schools under state control inevitably destroys freedom of education. This freedom gone, monopolistic schools can never be the champions of freedom of speech, of the press, of religion and of assembly."

But what if it is true, as many believe, that the Supreme Court's interpretation of the First and Fourteenth Amendments simply reflected the thinking of a very large number of Americans? What if our people have come to accept a government monopoly of education as a natural social evolution? The answer is that we must alert the people to the dangers of their acceptance of this social evolution. And there are two obvious but effective ways of doing this: by action and by persuasion.

The way of action is to project "The Important Place of the Private School in American Education" (the theme of a recent national congress of private schools) into the consciousness of local communities all over the country. For a long time private and church-related schools have contributed many kinds of public services to American communities. What they have not carried out effectively enough is a plan for calling attention to these services. Perhaps a necessary starting point would be to identify each of their public services with a label: "Given as a public service by _____ school, a private, non-tax-supported institution." At the same time, there is need for someone to spell out a diversified and inclusive public-relations program which would put chief emphasis on the services that private schools can render as a unique contribution to the public welfare. There has been much talk but too little definite action about "selling" private education to the American people.

A first item on a public-relations program should be an attempt to discuss with leaders in all our important communities the role of private education in a democratic school system. It should be possible to show why the continuance and development of both public and private schools in freedom and for freedom, according to their distinctive objectives, are necessary for the survival of our American way of life. Many people who hold to the principle of no government support of private education favor government support in other fields to save our democratic society. (See "Washington Front," p. 177.) If educational freedom is to survive among us, private education must survive and flourish. It cannot survive and flourish if huge government subsidies are given to public institutions and nothing to private schools.

"But," you may ask, "what must the Government do for private schools?" That is a question that can and must be answered. It is first necessary, however, to bring molders of public opinion to see that current American thinking is lopsided. If they can be convinced that private schools must survive, and that to survive they must be helped, the way to help will be found.

Battle of the fourth round

Benjamin L. Masse

Beginning about May 15 top-flight labor leaders like Philip Murray, Walter Reuther and John L. Lewis will open wage negotiations with the giants of American business. Steel, coal, automobiles, practically all basic industry will be involved.

On the eve of the bargaining both labor and management are aware, as they never were in pre-war days, of the public interest in their deliberations. As the pace-setters of American industry, they know that what they decide to do about wages and, inferentially, prices, will have an impact on the whole economy—and on your pocketbook and mine. This time they must sell their respective arguments not merely to one another, but to all the rest of us as well.

Already the propaganda machinery has been set in motion. For the past several months, through their house organs and other channels, union heads and corporation officials have been conditioning the public to approve the positions they have already decided to defend. The accent is not on what is good for the workers or for the business, but on what is good for the economy as a whole. The old-fashioned horse-trader is out. The boys on the public-relations firing line are the statisticians and economists, and their weapons are figures and graphs and rarefied theories of the boom-bust cycle. If the public intends to throw its weight around come June and July, it will have to do something more intellectually strenuous than follow the show in the picture magazines. It will have to become familiar with such fancy terms as imbalance, underconsumption, disinflation and high break-even points.

Luckily the realities are somewhat easier to grapple with than the terminology; and should the diligent citizen, having mastered the facts and the main line of argument, still find himself unable to reach a clear-cut decision, he can console himself with the knowledge that the experts are not so certain of the answers either. The issues are that difficult and complex.

LABOR'S POSITION

For seven years the nation has been riding an upswing in the economic cycle. The period has been characterized by full employment, high production and constantly rising prices. Throughout this time labor has pressed for wage increases, or the equivalent in "fringe benefits." Compared with pre-war experience, it has been successful in raising its living standards. At the end of 1948, the average single worker's weekly dollar income was 120 per cent above 1939; his real income in terms of what his take-home wage would buy was 18 per cent over pre-war. The average married worker with two dependents was somewhat better off. His real wage was 31 per cent over the 1939 level.

"Almost everywhere else, men are relying exclusively on the state to save them from the cruel alternations of boom and bust. That is especially true of the workers. It is significant and heartening that American labor is still determined to seek economic stability and a rising standard of living primarily through collective bargaining."

All this gain took place before September, 1942. The further gains which labor made from the beginning of wartime stabilization in 1942 were mostly lost when overtime was abandoned toward the end of 1945. The rest disappeared during the past three years in the rat-race between rising wages and still faster rising living costs. In the January issue of *Labor's Monthly Survey*, official AFL publication, the present position of the average worker is described in this way:

The worker's much publicized high wartime buying power has vanished, as the Federation predicted back in 1944. Much of his wartime savings have been spent. What remains to him is the real weekly wage he had in the fall of 1942, nearly all of which was won before wartime price control and wage stabilization went into effect. The postwar period has brought no increase whatever in the buying power of the average worker's weekly wage. At best he has only managed to keep up with the price rise. His wage is higher than pre-war because he has managed to keep the real gains won from 1939 to 1942.

The postwar wage-price trend seriously disturbs labor leaders and is a cause of widespread unrest among the rank and file. Historically, the primary objective of the American labor movement has been to improve the living standards of workers. Until fairly recent times it sought to gain its objective exclusively through collective bargaining on wages, hours and working conditions. All its other policies—for instance, its stand on immigration—can be explained in these terms.

Now the emphasis is shifting somewhat. The Great Depression, which began in 1929 and was ended only by the war, left a scar on the labor movement which seven years of full employment have not removed. Though still concerned with wages, hours and working conditions, labor leaders, reflecting the thinking of their membership, have developed an absorbing interest in security. Of what avail are better wages and working conditions, they argue, if workers periodically face loss of their jobs?

The preoccupation with security, with continuity of employment, will this year be a major factor in negotiations with management. Accusing business of failing in its public responsibility, the CIO *Economic Outlook* said in January:

Instead of planning for the nation's welfare and their own as well, in terms of the needs of continuous prosperity, our largest corporations have become obsessed with fears of the "inevitability" of another depression.

Mr. Irving Olds, of the U. S. Steel Corporation, gave voice to this dangerous philosophy in 1947 when he justified high profits "to permit an adequate amount to be set aside for future needs, since the day will come when steel operations are at a lower rate than at the present time."

While America's present and future requirements call for expanded steel capacity, leaders of the industry are preoccupied with dismal schemes for "self-insurance" during the "coming bust."

Contrasting the rise in the cost of living from January, 1945, to August, 1948, which was 37 per cent, with the 13-per-cent increase in wages, the *Economic Outlook* charges that the "real buying power of the weekly paycheck in manufacturing was cut 17 per cent below its value in goods and services in January, 1945." It finds further confirmation of this "dangerous" trend in the fact that, whereas the share of wages and salaries in the national income fell from 67½ per cent in 1945 to 61 per cent in 1948, the share of profits before taxes went from 11 per cent to 15 per cent. The trend is "dangerous" because it spells depression generated by lack of consumer buying power. And the *Economic Outlook* quotes with approval from the July, 1948 report of the President's Council of Economic Advisers:

In a future expanding economy, consumer income and expenditures will require a larger share in order to assure markets for everything that can be produced.

AFL thinking reflects the same concern with the postwar wage-price-profit ratio and its impact on employment and production. The February issue of *Labor's Monthly Survey* begins with this worried paragraph:

For three postwar years (1946 through 1948) workers' buying power in U. S. A. has lagged behind production. Since American workers normally buy almost half the entire finished product of the nation's farms and industries, such a lag is serious. Yet, due to drastic price rises, total buying power of wages and salaries rose only 3 per cent in this period, while production rose 12 per cent. Until recently, business restocking for wartime shortages has kept industry busy; now the effect of low buying power is being felt. Retail stores find sales lagging behind last year; manufacturers' backlogs of orders are shrinking.

The AFL economists, like their CIO brothers over on Jackson Place in Washington, conclude that in the course of the coming negotiations the unions should aim at increasing the real wages of their members, not merely to improve their living standards, but also to head off the danger of a depression. The historic aim of the labor movement thus coincides with its new interest in maintaining stable production and employment.

Labor leaders are aware that real wages can be raised in several ways: by a wage increase without a corresponding price increase; by a wage increase that outstrips a consequent price increase; by a wage increase with a simultaneous fall in prices; or simply by a fall in prices. Among these possibilities, wherever the economic condition of the industry is favorable, they want a wage increase, and/or social-security benefits, plus a modest reduction in prices. In some cases they will settle for less: for present wage levels with price declines, or for maintenance of both prices and wages at present levels.

What labor wants to avoid at all costs is further inflation, on the one hand, and on the other, a sharp recession. Labor economists feel that prices and profits since

the war have been too high. They would like to see "a gradual and orderly decline in high prices," since this would bring workers and other consumers back into the market. They applaud such price declines as have already occurred. *But they don't want too sharp a break in prices.* Such a break would increase real wages, but it would also demoralize business and throw millions of workers out of jobs. Hence their drive for wage increases plus a modest and orderly decline in prices. That is the medicine, say the labor thinkers, which the doctor prescribes for the American economy at the present moment. It is an antidote against depression without being at the same time an incentive to inflation.

INDUSTRY'S STAND

For the most part business feels that during this precarious period of "disinflation" everything would work out all right if 1) the Government would cut the budget and reduce taxes, and 2) labor would work harder and not rock the boat with further wage demands. Where

labor is inclined to stress consumer purchasing power as the answer to recession, management is predisposed to emphasize incentives to invest and expenditures on capital goods. Businessmen do not deny that many consumers have been priced out of the market, but they ask workers to be patient. In many industries competition is again a factor and prices

are headed downward. Give the system, they say, a chance to work.

Testifying last December before the joint congressional committee on the President's economic report, Joseph E. Pogue, vice president of the Chase National Bank in charge of petroleum economics, gave a classic statement of industry's position. He conceded that the oil industry had made big profits in 1947 and 1948. From \$763 million in 1946, profits after taxes for thirty oil companies jumped to \$1.219 billion in 1947 and to \$1.41 billion for the first nine months of 1948. Most of this income, he explained, had been spent on expanding production to meet the needs of the nation. In 1947, stockholders received in dividends only 35 per cent of the net profits, and last year they received a still smaller percentage. He argued that if there were no further inflationary tendencies, among which would be numbered, no doubt, higher wages, prices and profits would both decline in 1949. Thus the law of supply and demand was working to the long-term advantage of the American people.

The April *Letter* of the National City Bank of New York, which reflects the orthodox business viewpoint, deals at great length with the argument that the increasing share of profits in the national income and the decreasing share of wages and salaries are driving the economy toward a bust. It says in rebuttal:

To imply that such a shift in the income pattern



would cause a depression is to assume a great deal, and certainly oversimplifies a highly complex problem. It must not be overlooked that income in the form of profits constitutes "purchasing power" just as much as income in the form of wages. It is, indeed, an extremely dynamic form of purchasing power, for, as the record of business cycle shows, it is the fluctuations in business expenditures that make the great difference between booms and depressions.

The *Letter* is quick to add that it does not contend that consumer buying power is not significant, or that important groups of consumers can be priced out of the market without serious consequences to the economy. "If large numbers of people," it says, "either can't buy because prices are too high, or won't buy because they think they are too high, business inventories accumulate and the whole business process begins to back up all along the line."

According to this viewpoint the important question is, "who is being priced out of the market, and by whom?" The Bank suggests that "landlords, corporate shareholders and recipients of income from interest, pensions, etc." are the ones who have suffered, and that the culprits have been the farmers and organized wage earners. While profits are a factor in prices, it argues, they are not to be compared with wages and salaries (including unincorporated business and government), since the latter exceeded corporate net income in 1948 in the ratio of six to one.

Assuming that wage increases will be and must be passed on to consumers in the form of higher prices, the *Letter* concludes that today the worst possible prescription for the economy is another round of wage increases. "With consumers already rebelling against high prices, and with the profit margins of business diminishing and in many cases disappearing," what can the consequences of such medicine be, it asks, except business contraction and unemployment?

Commenting on John L. Lewis' wage-and-hour demands, George H. Love, head of the nation's biggest commercial coal company, made exactly the same point. He told the stockholders of Pittsburgh Consolidation on April 20 that the big job ahead was to get production up and costs down. Obviously referring to Mr. Lewis and other mine union leaders, he added:

Many labor leaders feel that the demand for coal is inelastic and that coal not mined this month will be mined next month. With this theory we disagree completely. The delivered cost of the coal to the consumer will determine to a large extent the amount of coal mined in the next ten years.

Every industrialist faced with a competitive situation goes along with this reasoning. For them the postwar boom, when wage hikes could be painlessly passed along to consumers, is over.

SOME REFLECTIONS

In rough outline, such are the arguments both sides will bring to the bargaining table. To resolve the disagreement with finality is impossible. There are respectable economists on both sides of the fence. Yet it is all

to the good that the issue of a general wage increase is being raised. We still do not know the answer to the boom-bust cycle, and it is only by questioning the consecrated practises of the past, which have not saved us from periodic disasters, that progress can be made.

It may be that conscious determination of broad wage-and-price trends, through free discussion among the leaders of our major economic groups, promises greater stability than the present practice of disparate agreements between many individual unions and firms. Certainly it is a gain that workers and employers are thinking of collective bargaining in terms of the general economic welfare. From that approach may come some sort of organization, with agriculture represented along with labor and management, which can do the planning essential to stable, economic progress. Almost everywhere else men are relying exclusively on the State to save them from the cruel alternations of boom and bust. That is especially true of the workers. It is significant and heartening that American labor is still determined to seek economic stability and a rising standard of living primarily through collective bargaining. If this means, as it does, some expansion of the traditional limits of collective bargaining, only the confirmed devotees of *laissez-faire* among management should object. The only politically realistic alternative is an economy run lock, stock and barrel from Washington.

Impatient Austria

Robert A. Graham

Austria is as tourist-minded this year as Switzerland, and with reason. The yearbook put out by the Austrian United Nations League presents fifty-two photos of famed resort centers that rival in setting anything that even Switzerland can present. And the capital city of Vienna, where lives about a fourth of the country's population, has the distinction of being the most practical place for the tourist who wants to see Red Army soldiers just for the sake of seeing them. You will be given ration coupons when you get your military entry permit, for the country is short of food. But you will be welcome, for the Austrians are impatient to get back again into the stream of European life.

The average person thinks of Austria today in the same terms as he thinks of Germany. It is true that since 1938 her lot was linked with that of Germany. Austrians fought in the German forces against the Allies. The country today is divided into four zones, like Germany, and its chief city is under joint occupation, like Berlin. Austria, too, awaits a peace treaty. And Austrians speak German. But the parallel ceases there, which is all the more striking to the visitor who comes not from the docks at LeHavre, but from the ruins of Germany. As early as October, 1943 at Moscow, the Big Four agreed that Austria would be treated separately from Germany. They declared that it was the "first free country to fall a victim

to Hitlerite aggression," and that consequently it should be "liberated"—a word now the butt of frequent satirical jokes among the Austrians. Unlike Germany, Austria now has a Government of its own, which in virtue of a rather generous Control Council Law of 1946 has wide independent powers over all Austria. Administratively united, the country has made rapid strides toward economic recovery. Above all it has done splendidly in recovery of its morale. The de-nazification that has plagued and confused Germany was liberally and intelligently carried out in Austria, one good explanation being that the Austrian Nazi never took his nazism as seriously as his German opposite number. Although the Soviets plundered the country in their arbitrary, greedy and sporadic fashion, and still sit upon some of the nation's most important industrial properties as "German assets," the stultifying policy of dismantling never was adopted by the occupiers. And while some 110,000 expellee "Volks-deutsche" from the East are on Austrian soil (not counting DP's), this is nothing by comparison with the ten to twelve million "strangers" who crowd the narrow confines of postwar Germany. Last but not least, her neighbors have no basis to fear "Austrian aggression."

It would be wrong to continue this line of thought as though Austrians were simply non-Germans. Austrians are Austrians and there are few countries in Europe whose people conform so closely to their Baedeker reputation. A recent official U. S. Army report on Austrian character says that they are "invincible optimists, skilled in workmanship and gifted with artistic brilliance, fertile inventiveness and a genius for making the best of a bad situation." They are a people "incapable of taking a serious view of the material difficulties of existence." One acute observer has remarked that for the Austrians the superfluous things of life—music, new wine and coffee, as enjoyed in the two Viennese opera houses, at a Heurige and in the Kaffeehaus—are more necessary than the essentials. The citizen may live on pea soup and salted fish for six days, but the seventh day must be another story. Before he completely rebuilds his bombed home he gets to work on his ruined opera house and his *Prater*, or amusement park, practically wiped out in the final battles for Vienna. He lavishes care on the repairs of St. Stephan's Cathedral. No crude pragmatic protests are raised, for in Vienna everyone knows that one doesn't live on bread alone.

The refusal of the Austrians to take life seriously seems almost to have affected the Russians. For a city occupied by the four Powers who are mutually at loggerheads, Vienna is remarkably at ease. Walking in front of the Soviet headquarters on Ignatz-Seipel Ring one feels only sentiments of curiosity (though not so long ago an American girl was seized when she tried to photograph the building). At one time it looked as if the Soviets had no far-reaching aims for Austria. First into Vienna, they appointed Karl Renner, a respected Socialist, as provisional president of the restored Austrian Federal Republic. The other Allies protested this unilateral action at the time, but events have not given them any grounds to complain of the Soviets' choice. The Control Council

law of June 28, 1946, handing over full authority to the Austrian Government except for certain specified matters concerning the occupying Powers, was, of course, accepted by the Soviet Union representative. This was thought to augur an era of speedy rehabilitation for Austria. The elections of November 25, 1945 saw only four Communists elected to the National Council. An early liquidation of Soviet interests in Austria appeared to be in the cards. It was not to be. The peace treaty seems as far off today as ever before.

Meanwhile there is nothing the Austrians can do to help the Big Four make up their minds. It is not their fault that the Soviets wish to define "German assets" in a manner which the Western Allies in Austria's own interest, cannot accept. If the Soviets are more than ever reluctant to relinquish a foothold for the Red Army on the borders of Tito's Yugoslavia, there is nothing the Austrians can do about that. As long as Austria is occupied the Russians have a pretext for maintaining troops in Hungary and Rumania. The claims of Yugoslavia upon Carinthia, paradoxically supported by the Soviet representatives at the peace discussions, would scarcely be considered seriously in normal circumstances. Meanwhile the Austrians must pay for the occupation of their "liberated" country by an occupation tax, called the "Russian tax" because three-fifths of it is claimed by the Soviet occupation forces. Victims of outrageous fortune, they shrug their shoulders and look for other outlets for their ambition to be represented once again in international life as a free and sovereign country.

This may be the reason why the Austrian League of the United Nations has enjoyed unusual success. "We have forty thousand members," says Secretary-General Alain Stuchly-Luchs, "and that doesn't include those reached by the trade unions and schools." Though the League receives no financial support from the Government, it works in close cooperation with it, many officials being also, in their private capacity, directors of the organization. Cynics will say that the feverish activity of this group is a typical example of Austrian optimism, especially since Austria's membership in the United Nations, having been vetoed by Mr. Gromyko, is at least as far removed as the peace treaty. It is possible that nowhere outside Austria could so much enthusiasm be generated towards an institution the country is not a member of. But native optimism is not the complete explanation. For this people entry into the UN is symbolic of their full and equal partnership in the community of nations. The peace treaty, being essentially a victor-vanquished relationship, will not satisfy that longing. Austria sees membership in the UN as an occasion not merely of fulfilling its duties, but of defending and representing Austria's aspirations and rights.

The League's program calls for defense of Austrian territorial integrity and internal organic unity, threatened respectively by Yugoslav demands and the division of the country into four zones. It should not be forgotten that Vienna was the capital city of a multinational empire that extended far to the east. The Austrians are convinced that their geographical position and

their traditions would in normal circumstances form the natural cultural link between East and West.

Above all, the Austrians see in the neutral assemblies of the United Nations a chance to avoid being forced to make an open choice between East and West. In his speech for the United Nations League on April 5, 1946, Federal President Renner said that Austria could not afford to be orientated toward or politically allied with either north, south, east or west, and so risk the same dangers that were encountered in 1914 and in 1939. "Austria," he said, "is in the position of being able to choose only one partner—the United Nations."

But that was in 1946. Today, like all free countries in Europe, Austria is being forced by its own convictions and its own interests to a decision it hoped against hope it could avoid making. In Vienna, under the noses of the Soviets, are placards put up by ERP proclaiming: "Austria needs eighteen countries; eighteen countries need Austria." These nineteen nations are the Marshall Plan countries. For Austria, after the Marshall Plan, what next? A recent editorial in the independent Viennese paper *Presse*, signed by the editor-in-chief, says:

The participants in the future united Europe will one day inevitably be identical with the so-called Marshall Plan countries; and hence there can be no doubt that Austria belongs there (or to speak more accurately, will one day, soon we hope, belong there). More difficult for the participating nations will be the question of the military provisions of the Atlantic Pact, a problem that is disturbing even Switzerland in her entirely different situation. But if the Atlantic world takes substance as a super-structure built upon this continental foundation, Austria will be a natural member of this new organism and a far more important one than its small size would seem to warrant.

Sentiments like these are scarcely even whispered at the Ballhausplatz, the foreign office. But when this editorial was published it was regarded in many circles as indicating that informed circles in Vienna are now convinced that America's determination to resist further Soviet expansion is so strong that Austria runs no fatal risk in coming out openly for the West. Such a decision would not be taken lightly. Last November an official in the Ministry of Economic Planning, the leading specialist dealing with the implementation of the Marshall Plan, was arrested by the Soviet police. There have been others. It is dangerous for any Austrian to be too closely identified with American activities. How many people in the United States realize the price that must be paid in Eastern Europe for American friendship?

More than a fourth of Austria is Soviet-occupied. Vienna itself is in the center of the Soviet zone. At Enns the Arlberg Express is boarded by Soviet soldiers who examine your papers in a manner that makes you doubt they know what they are reading. And for hours thereafter the traveler is in the custody of the Red Army. An airlift for Vienna would present problems non-existent in Berlin. For one thing, the American airfield is some miles outside the city, although it appears that there are enough reserves to carry on for some months while emergency airfields were being constructed. At the mo-

ment a blockade à la Berlin, or coup à la Czechoslovakia seems improbable or impossible. Yet so long as the Red Army is on Austrian soil no possibility is completely excluded. The Hungarian border is not too many kilometers away, and the Austrian people have no illusions.

While awaiting the decision of the four Powers, Austrians are girding themselves today for a domestic struggle. The first general elections since November, 1945 will be held on October 25. On the previous occasion the People's Party sent 85 deputies to the national council, while the Socialists, whose stronghold is Vienna, sent 76. The Communists elected only four. Barring high-handed interference by the Soviet authorities, the present relative position of the parties in the national council or in the Government is not expected to change greatly as a result of the new elections. New voters are an unknown element. These are the returned prisoners of war, who didn't vote in 1945, and the ex-Nazis. The total number of new voters is estimated at above 750,000, of whom approximately 100,000 are returned prisoners of war and 450,000 are rehabilitated ex-Nazis. Which party will get their votes?

Informed American authorities consider that the ex-prisoners will vote for the People's Party, since most of the soldiers are from the country, that is to say, are Catholics. The socialist Minister of the Interior, Dr. Oscar Helber, refuses to accept this theory, as witness his ostentatious efforts to do right by them. The half-million votes of the ex-Nazis are a rich prize in a struggle for electoral power. Will this prize go to the People's Party, labeled a "catch-all" for non-Socialists and non-Communists? Or will it go to the Socialists? Much talk of a "fourth party" has led to no concrete results. The Catholic paper, *Die Furche*, published by the dean of Austrian journalists, Dr. Friedrich Funder, recently warned the two parties of the danger of bringing into their ranks former Nazis whom until recently they had been loudly condemning. Inasmuch as the absorption of the uncongenial elements would be sure to result in the undermining of the absorbing party, *Die Furche* felt that it would be far more advisable to permit a fourth party.

The comparative accord that exists between the two governmental parties may be attributed in part to the extraordinary position in which Austria now finds herself. But the elements of serious struggle are not lacking. Austria is a Catholic country, as the frequent tiny chapels on promontories overlooking the beautiful Alpine valleys bear witness. But the capital city has a majority of Socialists, whose *Weltanschauung*—excuse the word, but there is no translation for it and no parallel in American life—has more than once been in conflict with the convictions of the Catholic majority of the country. In their pastoral letter on the occasion of United Nations Day, last October, the Austrian Bishops warned that the internal unity of the people was in a hazardous condition. A careless act or a malicious slogan may precipitate disunity and disorder. The civil war of February, 1934 is not forgotten. At the moment, however, as the Bishops stated, there is no open fight, no class conflict on the horizon. All are united in their impatience for Austria to become herself once again.

Election in North Ireland

Anthony Moore

America's eyes these days are focused on the Atlantic. Washington feels that an Atlantic pact is the best insurance against the threat to Western European civilization. Never has Atlantic unity and cooperation been so necessary, and for this reason the recent general election in Northern Ireland, together with its background and consequences, is far more important to Americans than is often recognized.

Once again, as in the past, a large majority of Northern Ireland's citizens have reaffirmed their loyalty to Great Britain at the polls. Once again they have repudiated Irish nationality. And there, in the opinion of many, the matter should rest. Democracy has spoken, they claim.

Unfortunately this is a superficial view that does not, despite outward appearances, correspond to realities. True, the election was free of coercion or terrorism on the communist model. That much is undeniable. However, it takes more than just an election, even if free, to make for real democracy. A fully democratic election (as opposed to an outward show of democracy) calls for certain conditions lacking in Northern Ireland today.

To appreciate the real nature of this election, it is essential that Americans know something of the background history of Northern Ireland, for Americans have a very real stake in the future of this small corner of the world if the Atlantic policy of the United States is to be kept on an even keel.

It has been said that Irish history is something for Englishmen to learn and Irishmen to forget. Be that as it may, Irish history shows that for centuries the historic Province of Ulster was as much part and parcel of Ireland as, say, the "Kingdom of Kerry." The four Provinces of Ulster, Munster, Leinster and Connaught formed the nation known as Ireland from time immemorial—not Eire, or the Irish Free State, but Ireland. Irish unity is not just a vague tradition. It was a fact and a reality for centuries, in good times as in bad. Even British officialdom has tacitly acknowledged this unity in days gone by, and a survey of recent history shows that the existing partition of Ireland is arbitrary and artificial.

Northern Ireland, as we know it today, does not correspond even to the old Province of Ulster. In our press, Northern Ireland is often called Ulster, but this is actually a distortion. Northern Ireland is not and never can be Ulster, because three of Ulster's counties—Cavan, Donegal and Monaghan—are not included in Northern Ireland; but form part of the Republic of Ireland.

The Six Counties, as the area is often called, date back to 1920. The section owes its existence to the determination of the militant Conservative Unionists (the pro-British elements) not to practise democracy and share a com-

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mon life with the rest of Ireland. Britain's political leaders weakly submitted to this pressure, possibly remembering the Ulster Unionists' threats of civil war in 1914, when Great Britain almost gave Home Rule to Ireland. As a result, six of Ulster's original counties were excluded from the Irish Free State. These six counties were deliberately selected with a view to ensuring a comfortable Unionist majority that could be counted upon to oppose Ireland's unity indefinitely.

Cut off from the rest of Ireland and deprived of three of Ulster's original counties, this rump-Ulster is merely the offspring of a Machiavellian scheme to thwart Irish democracy and bolster up a local *Herrenvolk* that regards the Irish as hewers of wood and drawers of water.

Wholesale gerrymandering makes the normal working of democracy in Northern Ireland of very doubtful value. Electoral boundaries have been carefully drawn to keep the Irish nationalist minority as ineffective as possible. Statistics published in the *New York Times* a few years ago show that in County Tyrone, 74,000 Nationalist voters returned only 11 members to the Northern Ireland Parliament at Stormont, while only 60,000 Unionists returned 16. In County Fermanagh, 33,000 Nationalists returned only 7 representatives, as against 13 elected by 26,000 Unionist voters. The 27,000 Nationalist voters of Derry City were represented by only 8 members at Stormont, while the 18,000 Unionists returned 12 members. Despite a Nationalist majority which, under any fair electoral system, should control Derry's destinies, the City Council representation has in point of fact been gerrymandered in such a way as to ensure a permanent Unionist majority. Such a system obviously bears little relation to democracy as we know it.

Another bitter feature of life in Northern Ireland is the economic and social discrimination against the Nationalist minority. True, the Government claims that such discrimination does not exist. Statistics show, however, that Catholics (who are overwhelmingly Nationalist) do not receive anything like their fair share of public appointments. Cases of applicants' having to state their religion occur constantly, and the reason is only too plain.

The Belfast press delights in venomous attacks upon the Catholic Church and Catholic individuals. One paper, for instance, bitterly criticized the American Administration for daring to appoint a Catholic in the person of Joseph P. Kennedy as Ambassador to the Court of St. James. The late Lord Londonderry, a Protestant, was pilloried for receiving the King of Spain at his County Down residence.

Even physical violence in the district is not unknown. In 1932, Catholics returning from the Dublin Eucharistic Congress were attacked by mobs in Belfast, Portadown

and elsewhere. In 1935, anti-Catholic riots in Belfast culminated in a pogrom that forced over a thousand Catholics to leave their homes because of property damage. Hostile demonstrations against churches and convents, as well as against individual priests and nuns, occur at intervals.

In all fairness, it should be added that the terrorist activities of the IRA have done much to make a bad situation still worse. This tiny band of fanatics has handed the Government the excuse needed to take certain high-handed measures at variance with normal civil liberties, which have caused considerable concern in England and would be quite unthinkable there. In actual fact, the vast majority of Northern Ireland's Catholics deplore the tactics of the IRA, which have served only to increase the trials of the minority.

Unfortunately it is only too often true that "Catholic" means "Nationalist" and "Protestant" means "Unionist." This is one of the most regrettable phenomena that make life in Northern Ireland so different from life across the Channel or across the border, and history alone provides the explanation. There are, however, many exceptions. Just as there is a tiny handful of Catholics who would prefer British citizenship, there are, on the other hand, many Northern Protestants who have taken a stand for Irish unity and freedom.

In 1782 the Protestant Volunteers' Convention in Dungannon championed the cause of Catholic Emancipation vigorously, as did a number of Protestant clergymen. Protestants contributed generously towards the erection of Belfast's first Catholic church and seminary. Wolfe Tone's United Irishmen grouped Protestants and Catholics alike. In more recent times so outstanding an Ulster Protestant as that distinguished Presbyterian divine, Rev. Mr. Armour of Ballymoney, openly advocated Irish unity. Today, to their eternal honor, a growing number of Protestant politicians have joined the Catholic minority in opposing Unionist bigotry and discrimination, often paying a heavy price for their courage.

There is no need for the religious issue to cut across the cause of Irish unity. Irish history is eloquent proof of that. Many of Ireland's outstanding leaders were Protestants, often of pure Anglo-Saxon descent. Wolfe Tone, Davis, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Grattan, Burke and Robert Emmet—all were Protestants. The entire Irish nation is keenly aware of the debt owed to those Protestants who spoke out boldly on behalf of their fellow citizens when the latter could not speak for themselves.

South of the border the religious issue does not exist. Protestants number only seven per cent of the total population, but they occupy positions of importance and public office out of all proportion to their numbers. Protestant clergy and laymen alike have repeatedly paid generous tribute to the tolerance and fair play, not to say the privileged position, enjoyed by the Protestant community in the Irish Republic. The facts speak for themselves. Ireland's first President was a Protestant. The Constitution expressly states that state aid to education is not to discriminate between the denominations in control of the various schools. Dublin's two pre-Reformation

cathedrals remain in Protestant hands, as in the past. Events have proved that Protestants have no need to fear victimization in Ireland.

Unfortunately the British people, with their traditions of fair play and tolerance, know very little of the facts of life in Northern Ireland, or of the "deal" foisted upon Ireland in their name in 1922. The average Briton dislikes intolerance, and would be shocked were he to know the full facts. In recent years questions about Northern Ireland have been increasingly frequent in the Imperial Parliament at Westminster, and an informed British public opinion can do much to help solve the problem.

Now Ireland's refusal to take part in the Atlantic Pact negotiations while the Six Counties remain under what

is fundamentally an alien rule has once again highlighted the whole issue. It would be a thousand pities if the repercussions were to embitter Anglo-Irish relations, for this in turn could embarrass American foreign policy. It would be the more regrettable at a moment

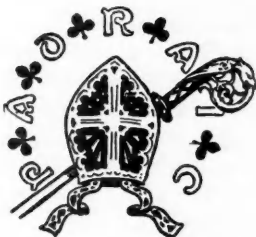
when, by and large, there is more good will towards the British in Ireland than there has been for centuries.

No opportunity should be lost to hammer home the necessity for an amicable solution. Steps should be taken as soon as possible to safeguard the Six Counties' economy and standard of living in a future United Ireland. Much can be accomplished along these lines on either side of the border. Ulster Unionists, could they but realize it, may have a far brighter economic future as Irish citizens working together for the common good than in their present uneasy status.

In the past, ex-Premier De Valera has promised the Six Counties a wide measure of local autonomy within the framework of a federated Republic; Premier Costello is willing to make a similar concession. Whatever guarantees Northern Ireland's Protestants may want in order to safeguard their liberties and rights, should be ascertained and given freely, publicly and without delay.

Communism's threat to Western civilization has thrown the entire question of Irish unity into a new perspective. The time has come to let the dead bury their dead once and for all; but this can be accomplished only by respecting the lessons of history and geography. Today Ireland is "a nation once again" and can freely stretch out the hand of friendship to her old adversary and new-found friend. Englishmen must see that an "Irish Ireland, free and undivided" is no menace to Britain's security, but a loyal ally, such as she never could have been in the past.

To achieve this end, tact and diplomacy are needed—and needed at once. America, which owes so great a debt to these two ancient civilizations, can do much to bring them together. Now is the time for American diplomacy to act in its own interest. With the United States as friendly broker, England and Ireland can settle the issue of the Six Counties and face their common Atlantic future side by side.



Kansas eases its liquor laws

William Brennan

To most Americans the issue which culminated in the Eighteenth Amendment is dead—like the old saloon. Seventeen years ago the nation's citizens canceled prohibition in a national election. Later the States, one by one, drafted their own liquor laws, until by 1949 forty-five of the forty-eight allowed sale of intoxicating drink.

Only in the week of March 1, 1949, however, did the legislature of the State of Kansas finally make liquor legal within its boundaries. A precedent of almost seventy years was at last swept away by the passage of the bill legally known as the "Kansas Liquor Control Act." It was not until after more than two months of wrangling, which began last January, that the House and the Senate finally hammered out a bill acceptable to the entire legislature. This was the last skirmish between the "wet" and "dry" forces in the State in a struggle that began November 2, 1880 and culminated in a 63,984 margin of victory in last November's referendum.

Sixty-nine years ago a prohibition amendment was adopted in the Kansas Constitution by a vote in which 52.3 per cent of the ballots cast were in favor and 47.7 per cent opposed. In 1934 a referendum on the same question found 55.7 per cent in favor of keeping the amendment, 44.3 per cent against it. In the recent election, 422,294 voters chose repeal against the dissenting voices of 358,310. Forty-five counties wanted repeal; sixty did not. Of the cities of the first and second class, sixty voted in favor of repeal, thirty against.

Not only the vote, but the very nature of the bill just passed, reveals the spirit of resistance in this State to the liquor traffic, even when sanctioned by law.

First of all, there will be no open saloons. Only liquor in the original package will be sold—that is, the package as it comes from the wholesaler to the retailer. Public drinking is forbidden. There are twenty classes of individuals who are not permitted licenses for selling liquor. Also, cities of the first and second class have the prerogative of submitting the liquor question to local vote after 1950. Not more often than once in a four-year period after that can such cities by petition demand another vote to decide whether legal liquor will continue to be allowed in their region.

Considering the restrictions which hedge in the Kansas Liquor Control Act, it is not surprising to learn that the advocates of prohibition carried on a terrific State-wide campaign prior to the election last fall. A special troupe led by Glenn Cunningham went from city to city, from town to village. On street corners and in front of general stores their arguments were propounded.

Looking back on this fight over liquor, one might be inclined to smile at the fierce sentiments aroused. The deep-seated reluctance to remove prohibition could be

interpreted as some type of backwardness. But that is not so.

The real reasons for the delay in taking "dry" laws off the statute books are ultimately religious ones. A large number of God-fearing people in this State have long held the conviction that drinking alcoholic beverages is morally wrong.

The importance of this liquor controversy is not, therefore, in the old arguments pro and con which have been rehearsed, but in the revelation of religious views which profoundly influenced our contemporaries.

One of the chief arguments of the prohibitionists was based on *Genesis* and ran somewhat as follows: "When God created the world, He saw that 'it was good,' but he never looked on alcohol and saw that it was good. Nothing in its original state is intoxicating. It has to be taken from this natural state and spoiled by fermentation; only then does it have its intoxicating effect." Fermentation is decay, corruption of nature, and consequently evil.

The prohibitionists have asserted that the miracle Christ performed at the marriage feast of Cana was to change water into unfermented juice, not into wine. This implies either that the steward of the feast was very drunk, or else that the thousands of New Testament manuscripts with the Greek word for wine in the Cana narrative are mistaken.

A moment's reflection will make it clear that such assertions about the miracle at Cana are quite consistent with the principle previously indicated concerning God's words quoted in *Genesis*. The principle is that wine, like all intoxicating drink, is all bad; so Christ could not have performed a miracle on behalf of wine-drinkers.

The full import of the principle lies in its argument that a creature of God is intrinsically evil, rather than placing moral evil in man's improper use of that creature. There is an abyss of difference between these two theories of evil in the world. Millions of people who share the name of Christian embrace one or other of them.

Behind the prohibitionists' fundamental principle, and behind the people who have argued eloquently on behalf of a "dry" Kansas, stands the figure of a man whose writings and teachings have filtered down through the network of many, many generations. He is the historic figure who preached that man's nature became essentially evil after the fall of Adam, incapable of cooperating to achieve justification in the sight of God. He is the man who, by proclaiming man's nature to be basically vitiated, opened the door to the theory that others of God's creatures could also be basically evil.

That person is Dr. Martin Luther, whose shadow loomed large in the liquor controversy in Kansas.

(From his point of vantage as a resident of Kansas, William Brennan, S.J., has the following notes to add to his story of liquor control in Kansas. Since his paper was written, Governor Carlson signed the Act on March 9, making it law; in the local option provided for by the Act, 18 towns authorized liquor traffic, 7 did not, in the municipal elections of April 5. These 25 towns had voted dry last November.)

Newman as journalist

Riley Hughes

The relationship of Cardinal Newman to the idea and practice of journalism, though not quite that of a mystery wrapped in an enigma, is at first sight curious and perplexing. One does not think of the Oxford Plato as a journalist; the spirit of his work and its stature alike forbid the epithet. It would be difficult to find a great writer of his day who criticized the press more often and more scathingly. As Anglican and as Catholic, Newman lived in an atmosphere of academic and priestly calm far removed from the swirl of events. One thinks of him as gazing into the mirror of the fourth century rather than the nineteenth. Everything that the journalist stands for, Newman was not.

Yet he was, in point of fact, a journalist. Much, but by no means all, of his writing for the press was what may be called "inspired journalism," but it was journalism none the less. Newman was, happily, wide of the mark when he wrote that the classic age of English literature was over, for he has himself become one of the undisputed classics of the language. He erred, too, in many of his feelings and predictions about journalism, especially Catholic journalism—of which he is one of the chief glories. Not only did he write almost as much for *ephemerides* as, say, Thackeray, but he was a journalist in terms of the previous century as well. In his person Newman serves as link between the pamphleteers of the eighteenth century and the article-writers of the nineteenth-century quarterlies. Then, too, he is type of the type: the English gentleman who writes letters to the *Times*.

Some of Newman's biographers have deplored "the journalist that was lost in Newman," but the extent of his journalistic practice demonstrates that he was a journalist in fact, if not in name. "Without regretting that Newman did not devote his life to journalism, we realize here," says Joseph J. Reilly, referring to the brilliant *Tamworth Reading Room*, "what a great journalist was lost in this man of letters." This observation is just, but it is worth noting that in this very instance Newman was writing a long letter to the *Times* and was for the occasion most effectively the practising journalist and not the "man of letters." Dr. Ullathorne, Newman's Ordinary, mentions, on the day of publication of the last serial part of the *Apologia*, Newman's writing for periodicals as the outstanding contribution of his "Catholic pen."

It must be admitted, however, that Newman gave no countenance to the "idea" of journalism, in spite of his own great experience as pamphleteer, editor and contributor to half a dozen periodicals. For Newman, magazine journalism might be spoken of under the term literature, whereas newspaper journalism might not. In his address on "English Catholic Literature" he clearly

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distinguishes between the two. It is not surprising to find the key to the distinction in Newman's concept of the person. "The very form of the compositions of the day," he writes, "suggests to us their main deficiency. They are anonymous." The journalism of the eighteenth century, he feels, was essentially a personal journalism. "Even when Addison writes anonymously," says Newman, "he writes under a professed character, and that in a great measure his own; he writes in the first person. The 'I' of the *Spectator*, and the 'we' of the modern Review or Newspaper, are the respective symbols of the two ages in our literature." In that every line Newman wrote bore the impress of the "I," it may at least be said that he was a journalist of the age of Addison.

Newman's instincts, we may say, were all of them opposed to the press as idea. For him it elicits at best but a "faint and languid assent"; its concerns are external to the real issue. He would not find himself in agreement with John Stuart Mill's tolerant admission that the press is "almost certain to profess and inculcate the opinions already held by the public to which it addresses itself, instead of attempting to rectify or improve those opinions." The London press of Newman's day was to Henry Adams, however, an "inferior pulpit" and an "anonymous schoolmaster."

Newman, too, sees in the newspaper a new seat of authority: the anonymous university. The press is the successful purveyor of "views," for no one dares admit that he is without an opinion on an encyclopedic range of subjects. One must hold "new and luminous theories" to be thought an intellectual man. To supply the restless demand for "reckless originality of thought" the journalist "lies under the stern obligation of extemporizing his lucid views, leading ideas, and nutshell truths for the breakfast table." For one to whom popular books were the product of a steam engine for the mind, the daily press could not fail to be "a barren mockery of knowledge."

Even more serious in Newman's eyes than its connatural habit of extemporizing views was the assumed function of the press as the servant of rationalism, "the great evil of the day." He saw journalists as eager to join statesmen in seeing the Church "as a promoter of good order and sobriety" and as nothing more. He falls with special irony and indignation on the unfortunate American clergyman who lamented the fact that Christ lay under serious disadvantage in His ministry: "There was

no press." It was the conviction of the press, he showed in that most brilliant exercise of ironic prose since Swift, *The Present Position of Catholics in England*, that whereas Protestantism was synonymous with sense, to the "tribes of pamphleteers and journalists" Catholicism was to be identified with all varieties of the absurd. Most conspicuous in "the Tradition" was the *Times*, that self-appointed "best of guides in a bad world."

Yet much as Newman deplored the press, he reasoned with it, fought with it, and lived much of his long life in its shadow. He began the sedulous imitation of Addison when he was fourteen, and when at Oxford fashioned a periodical after the *Spectator*. When, just before resigning his Anglican ministry, he wished to retract his anti-Catholic sentiments of the past, he chose to do so in a letter to a newspaper. It was a periodical article which "pulverized" for him his hard-won doctrine of the *Via Media*. His greatest book and one of the noblest events of his life, the writing of it, came about because of a book review. He was vanquished only once in controversy: by a parody in *Punch*. Mr. Punch, "with feelings of the greatest possible respect," fell with glee on Newman's paragraphs of "Saints of the Desert" appearing in *The Month*, and the series was "snuffed out."

Newman not a journalist? At one time or another he held the editorship of four different magazines. As he looked back in 1874 on his career, he saw both his occasional journalistic pieces and his extended writings alike as arising from his "habit, or even nature, of not writing and publishing without a call." From 1838 to 1841 his "call" was given impulse by what he later styled his "fierceness" toward Rome, and by the exciting game of clashing with the *Dublin Review*. For the *British Critic*, in those stirring days, he wrote and edited in behalf of the Tractarian movement. And for all the fierceness of dispute, none of the articles on the Movement "kept quite clear," he noted in the *Apologia*, "of advocating the cause of Rome."

As a Catholic, Newman edited three magazines: the short-lived *University Gazette* (where the essays of the *Idea of a University* first appeared), *The Atlantis Magazine*, and, stormiest petrel of all, the *Rambler*. The first two were not only vehicles of popular journalism, they were unabashed press agency. The *Atlantis* was planned as a "solid uncontroversial periodical dealing with science and literature"; it was to include a "padding" of literary matter to advertise the University. Even as he was at work on the *Atlantis*, stoutly preserving it from the "heaviness" of theology, Newman's attention was drawn to the thorny problem of the *Rambler*. Lord (then Sir John) Acton and Richard Simpson, the latter given, in Newman's words, to "flicking his whip at Bishops, cutting them in tender places," were through their intransigence coming increasingly into difficulty with the hierarchy and with Rome. After much hesitation and prayer, Newman assumed the editorship of the *Rambler*.

Newman became the *Rambler's* editor only because he was not willing to let the review die. His object on the *Rambler*, one which he urged on William George Ward during the latter's quizzical editorship of the *Dublin Re-*

view, was "to create a body of thought as against the false intellectualism of the age, to surround Catholicism with defenses necessary for and demanded by the age, to take a Catholic view of and give a Catholic interpretation to the discoveries of the age." Although he was urged to disassociate himself entirely from the *Rambler's* past by coming out under a new name, he was unwilling to do so. Nothing short of a direct command would make him "set up" a magazine, nor did he wish to seem to disavow entirely his predecessors, "men who I believed were at bottom sincere Catholics."

The *Rambler's* "intellectualism," even under Newman's editorship, remained objectionable in many quarters. Even friendly observers misunderstood Newman's purpose. William George Ward, who always remained sympathetic, however exasperating he might be, thought Newman's purpose was "to intellectualize the pious but unlit-erary body of Catholics." To this Newman's only comment was, "How odd!" Finally, at Bishop Ullathorne's suggestion, Newman was persuaded to tender his resignation.

Events moved so swiftly that Newman was soon earnestly desiring the magazine's downfall. The *Rambler's* successor, the *Home and Foreign Review*, proved equally unfortunate. Newman was greatly pained by the new magazine's manner and its theological discussion "lugged in without any occasion." When, Newman wondered, would Catholic reviewers abandon the idea that the first chapter of Genesis is contemporary literature.



Newman's idea for the *Rambler*, in the days when it was still possible to save its existence by changing its character and diverting it from the *odium theologicum*, was to take a hint from Wellington in Spain. If Acton and Simpson could, as Wellington did, stay within shelter and yet keep a sharp eye on the enemy, all would be well. Let the *Rambler* content itself with being a literary magazine, Newman advised. "Let it," he urged, "be instructive, clever and amusing." Newman's advice to the editor of *The Month* was in similar vein. "It seems to me that what is to be aimed at," he wrote to Father Henry Coleridge, S.J., on February 26, 1865, "is to lay a Catholic foundation of thought—and no foundation is above ground. And next, to lay it with Protestant bricks: I mean to use as far as possible Protestant parties and schools in doing so, as St. Paul at Athens appealed to the Altar of 'the Unknown God.'"

In his letters to Father Coleridge from 1864 to 1881, Newman refers to many matters, among them his current controversies and his contributions to the magazine; his references to the problems of publishing a Catholic magazine are many and clear-sighted. They have a special pertinence for us today, for *The Month* began its brilliant New Series in January of this year. In the first

extant letter of the correspondence Newman begins by announcing the chief difficulty of a periodical: to find "an object likely to achieve success."

If it is to pay [he writes], if it is to have influence, it must have readers—Who are they to be? Catholics are not a reading set—but if they do read it, what do you want to do with them? To be their organ? If so, against whom? . . . Are Protestants to be your readers? Then you must not offend them. They will not read a work which aims at converting them. But if you don't, what is the good of their reading it?

"Influential Catholics" are another stumbling block; they will criticize, Newman writes, "in the most effectual way they can." The possibility of censorship of a "formal and searching character" is another consideration, another reason why Newman feels "little disposed to encourage such projects." An historical review, he writes in another letter, would be excellent, but "who could bear it? Unless one doctored all one's facts, one should be thought a bad Catholic."

Newman's advice to Father Coleridge was definite and practical. His letters encouraged *The Month's* editor to face the realities of his situation. Keep away from theology, Newman urged; where theology must be introduced, it should be done "in undress." A consideration of English common sense was the important thing, even though that common sense be shallow. "It would be a blunder," he writes in his best satiric style, "to attempt to prove in a Magazine that to go into Jericho is the same as to go out of it, or that one blind man is two blind men." On another occasion he approves of the magazine's taking an interest in Protestant literature when that could be done; on another he reminds his correspondent that *The Month* is, in a sense, writing for a Protestant audience and not "to convert the good Fathers" of the Jesuit community.

In an early letter (February 26, 1865) Newman writes to Father Gallway, Superior of the Farm Street community, about the important question of the need of such a publication as *The Month*, in a way that still expresses the rationale of Catholic journalism:

Here I would say that as secular power, rank, and wealth are great human means of promoting Catholicism, so especially in this democratic age is intellect. Without dreaming of denying the influence of the three first named instruments of success, still I think the influence arising from repute for ability and cultivation of science, in this age, is greater than any one of them. The Catholic body in England is despised by Protestants from their (unjust) idea of our deficiency in education, and in that power which education gives of bringing out and bringing to bear natural talent which Catholics have, as others. They have an idea that few Catholics can think justly or explain themselves suitably. A first rate journal then, of which the staple was science, art, literature, politics, etc., would be worth more to the Catholic cause than half a dozen noblemen, or even than a millionaire.

One may with justice apply Newman's words to his own contributions to journalism. Certainly his periodical essays and articles—ranging from his early discussion of poetry and Aristotle in the *London Review* to an article entitled "The Development of Religious Error" and pub-

lished in the *Contemporary Review* of October, 1885, when he was in his eighty-fifth year—may be said to be worth more to the Catholic cause than the presence or the efforts of half a dozen noblemen, or even a millionaire.

Newman's journalistic achievements will be remembered as long as his name is remembered. It was against the spirit of a rationalistic age that Newman, lifelong defender of the dogmatic principle, fought his long journalistic battle, utilizing in the press that spirit's most symbolic and powerful instrument. It was part of his essential Englishness that he should work both in the form of the eighteenth-century pamphleteer and of the Victorian novelist, who like the author of the *Apologia* also came out "in numbers." Nor was it unfitting that the most austere of his books should appear Thursday after Thursday to be read in clubs, in drawing-rooms, in trains, and "by clerks on the top of omnibuses."

Epilogue

A pagan to the marrow-bone
I am today, and must atone
To the Sun-God, the singing God,
For shambling so in verse ill-shod.
My club-foot stanzas here I burn,
And mingle, so it serve my turn,
The purifying incense oozed
From humbler gifts but richlier used—
Tarragon slivers, thyme far-spent,
From currant sprigs of subtle scent,
Clipped rosemary gnarls and juniper
With sinewy twists of lavender.

And may this fragrant altar spire
With my contrition and desire,
With writhing rhymes and roots and rods
Until he sniffs, approves and nods
That I before the darkness yet
May wring performance from regret,
And in a quiet corner mold
A verse not worthless by his gold.

GEOFFREY JOHNSON

The giving

. . . Thus you who are the giver, who are the gift,
Have given the very air and so are brought
Down every breath to me—in love's own thrift
Telling me breath by breath what love has bought.

You who are giver and giving have walled me round
With the gift that is always you and only you—
And when I have turned from walls, I have but found
Myself a wall which you have broken through.

I could not breathe had you not sighed the breath
Without and within, had a mighty wind not driven
Love as a breath to me—that I till death
May be in my turn the giver, may be the given.

SISTER MARY ST. VIRGINIA, B.V.M.

Cure for the "modern mind"

PEACE OF SOUL

By Fulton J. Sheen, Ph.D., D.D., Whittlesey House. 292 p. \$3

In this volume, the distinguished Professor of Philosophy at Catholic University turns his attention to the "post-war frustrated man or the modern soul" under a title reminiscent of Rabbi Liebman's popular work, *Peace of Mind*. Actually the comparison does not go much beyond the titles, for the present author makes it clear that peace of soul and peace of mind are two quite different things.

The author believes that the "complexes, anxieties and fears of the modern soul did not exist to such an extent in previous generations because they were shaken off and integrated in the great social-spiritual organization of Christian civilization. They are, however, so much a part of modern man that one would think they were tattooed on him." Msgr. Sheen would like to start his approach to the problem of bringing man back to God and happiness through philosophy, but he finds that modern man is incapable of this and he must therefore make a start on modern man's level. "Because our

apologetic literature has missed the point, it is about fifty years behind the times. It leaves the modern soul cold, not because its arguments are unconvincing but because the modern soul is too confused to grasp them." Therefore, if the modern soul wants to begin the discussion with psychology, then he will begin with psychology.

In starting with psychology, the Monsignor leads off by considering in separate chapters such subjects as "Frustration," "The Philosophy of Anxiety," "The Origin of Conflicts," "Morbidity and the Denial of Guilt," etc. Inevitably this leads to a consideration of psychiatry. Here the author's widely publicized quarrel with psychiatry is continued, though with somewhat less intensity. This is distressing, for the quarrel apparently only added to the woes of the already harassed Catholic psychiatrist and made him even more suspect in the eyes of the public and his colleagues.

It seems to this reviewer that Monsignor Sheen has traveled some distance, measured in psychiatric miles, and that his objections have narrowed, as is indicated by the following (p. 89):

Psychiatry as a branch of medicine is not only a perfectly valid science—it is a real necessity today. . . . Even psychoanalysis, understood as

BOOKS

mental exploration and treatment, can be a perfectly valid method. To some extent it could even be viewed as an application of the Christian doctrine of examination of conscience to the examination of the unconscious. Christian faith and morals cannot possibly have any objections to a mental treatment whose aim is restoration of the sick mind to its human end. But psychoanalysis becomes very wrong indeed when it ceases to become a method of treatment and becomes a philosophy.

Psychiatrists and most analysts would agree with the Monsignor in these objections, but it is an unfortunate fact that most of the listening and reading audience fails to discriminate so nicely and consequently the psychiatrist has little peace of soul when he is being belabored with a stick. The blows fall upon the just and the unjust, even though the group which is the object of the attack is a limited one.

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Christian concepts. This is mainly because of the materialistic and naturalistic *Zeitgeist* in which the system of ideas (later to be called psychoanalysis) was being formulated, and also because of the beliefs or lack of belief of the founders. The difficulty is not with the facts which psychoanalysis presents; rather it lies in the philosophic doctrine which accompanies the facts. Although some analytic leaders disclaim psychoanalysis as a philosophy and state that it is non-existent, non-analysts have difficulty in disentangling the two and until the cleavage is made or becomes clearer there will be wide difference of opinion.

The most satisfactory way now to proceed is patiently to point out errors and, whenever it is possible, to offer constructive data based upon Christian philosophy. The path is open for someone to formulate a system of psychopathology and psychotherapy which is firmly founded upon Christian principles and is also practical and effective.

Succeeding chapters in *Peace of Soul* are entitled "Examination of Conscience," "Psychoanalysis and Confession," "Sex and Love of God," etc. It is not possible here to discuss the chapter "Psychoanalysis and Confession" in detail—the subject has already been carefully considered by Maritain, Allers, the Reverend Victor White and others. The two are and will ever remain different, and there is no reason for confusing them.

Apropos of Monsignor Sheen's remarks about guilt, Gregory Zilboorg, prominent psychoanalyst and former member of the teaching staff of Catholic University, has this to say, in the *Atlantic Monthly* for January, 1949: "Psychoanalysts relieve their patients of the *unconscious* sense of guilt which is not founded on reality. In other words, psychoanalysts relieve their patients from feeling guilty about things of which they are not guilty and leave them with the sense of guilt about things of which they really are guilty." This reviewer, who is not a psychoanalyst but a practicing psychiatrist, hastens to add that this attitude toward guilt mentioned by Zilboorg reflects the general attitude of the modern psychiatrist.

From the standpoint of the general reader there are many excellent things in the former chapters and in the remaining parts of this book which reflect the culture, learning and insight of the author. The last four chapters are particularly noteworthy. These concern "The Fear of Death" and three chapters on various aspects of conversion, the latter a subject in which Monsignor Sheen is particularly at home.

When it comes to discussions of psychiatry, however, we must give the

author the same mark which he gives the eminent mathematician whom he mentions and who was rash enough to dissertate upon philosophy and theology. Both experts strayed out of their field. At times our author appears to fall into psychiatric errors which he decried, for example (page 226): "In treating schizophrenia, a violent electric shock is sometimes applied to the head of the patient; the schizophrenic is so alarmed, so threatened, that in order to escape what seems like dissolution, the mind puts off its fantasy and the patient is thrust back into the real world." This of course, is a psychoanalytic explanation of the action of electric shock: it relates it to a death threat, etc., and indicates a belief that schizophrenia is a "functional" illness.

Much of the book does not lend itself to critical review. It is well done, well thought-out. Some of it seems hurried, but it is always enlightening. If undue space in this review seems to be given to the discussion of psychiatry and the author, it is because of this reviewer's calling. Undoubtedly the general reader will get a great deal from the volume. It is altogether probable that it will help some on the road to peace of soul. For that reason it is recommended reading for everyone. F. J. BRACELAND

The art of thinking

BARBARA CELARENT

By Thomas Gilby, O.P. Longmans, Green. 303p. \$4

The entrance into the world of scholastic speculation is a difficult one, and not least among the initial obstacles is the perception of the very real world which lurks behind the terminology, formulae and methods of the schoolmen. No one who has ever been conscious of the satisfying growth of his own appreciation of the real meanings behind such terms as image and analogy can fail to realize that an adequate apprehension of the fundamentals of scholastic logic is not the work of a day, nor a consummation to be wrought by the perusal of any one book. But still a definite contribution to the presentation of these fundamentals has been made by Father Gilby in *Barbara Celarent*.

Equipped with a keen appreciation of the exact place of logic in the broad scheme of intellectual activity, the author has worked out a careful and vital presentation. His model is St. Thomas, and his book aims to analyze and describe that orderly, accurate and disciplined habit of mind which is the Thomistic logic. Hence it is concerned with the familiar essentials of this "art and science of correct thinking."

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by Msgr. Ronald Knox

"Douay was consistent; it translated the Latin word for word, and if you protested that its version sounded rather odd, replied woodenly, 'Well, that's what it says.' In the eleventh psalm, for instance, you get the words 'deceitful lips, they have spoken in heart and heart.' Even Challoner saw that that would not do, so he pillaged from the Authorized Version and gave us 'with a double heart have they spoken.' I don't see what a double heart could be except an abnormal anatomical condition or an obscure kind of convention at bridge; but anyhow it sounds a little more like English. But when the Latin had 'renew a right spirit within my bowels,' that was what Challoner put; and when the Latin had 'Examine, O Lord, my kidneys,' Challoner put that down too; only he changed kidneys to the obsolete word 'reins,' hoping that his readers would not look it up in the dictionary. We are sensible of these Hebraisms, and most of us would like to see the last of them. But there are hundreds and hundreds of other Hebraisms which we do not notice, because we have allowed ourselves to grow accustomed to them. We should have thought it odd if we had read in *The Times* 'General Montgomery's right hand has smitten Rommel in the hinder parts'; but if we get that sort of thing in the Bible we take it, unlike Rommel, sitting down. 'Mr. Churchill then opened his mouth and spoke'—is that English? No, it is Hebrew idiom clothed in English words."

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their application; there is a philosophy present throughout. The limits of logic in the wider reaches of dialectic and rhetoric are noted in the beginning, and while the indispensability of logic as both a science and an art is emphasized, its restrictions are never overlooked. It is carefully weighed in the scale where the balance is the essential value of the subject for man in the world today.

The book itself as a whole exemplifies well that logic which it means to describe. For it advances rectilinearly in its course, refusing to be diverted by the various problems of psychology and epistemology which of its nature it awakens. It is a popular and informal presentation of logical notions familiar from the textbooks—apprehension, judgment, reason, fallacy and debate. Each topic is fully treated. The author, by a combination of vivid expression with a generous marshaling of examples (often naval or military) from history, literature and daily experience, effectively sets each point in relief without belaboring or discouraging further thought.

The matter has been treated often before; what is new here is the presentation. For Father Gilby, by his fresh, imaginative and informal style, successfully introduces a welcome "swing and a breeze," as he says, into this matter "where the conventional demeanor is rather stiff and the atmosphere rather close."

While the advanced student of logic will find here little that he does not already know, still he will deepen his appreciation of the precise role of logic in human thought, and will be gratified by the novelty and life which the author has injected into his matter. For the beginner the elusive notions are to be found clearly and accurately yet informally explained. For any one who is interested, here is a readable and convincing presentation of the worthwhile art of thinking correctly.

THOMAS A. MCGOVERN, S.J.

Dignified or degraded?

WITHOUT MAGNOLIAS

By Bucklin Moon. Doubleday. 274p. \$3

Fiction for the most part has treated the Negro badly, producing a caricature of him by its emphasis on the slum Negro of criminal tendencies. A book like *Without Magnolias* should do much to balance the picture. As the title itself indicates, this story does not follow the usual Negro pattern.

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every other respect. It is good to see this side of Negro life in fiction. For this alone the book would deserve the George Washington Carver Award which it received.

Racial tensions, however, are very much in evidence—treated, of course, from a Southern point of view. While the problem in the South differs from that in the North, one wonders if the end product is not always the same. The basic differences in these two attitudes are sharply etched in the friendly antagonism between Eric Gardner, the New-England-bred professor of sociology at the Negro college, and its Southern president, Ezekiel Rogers. At times Rogers' appeasement policies seem like the cowardly hedging of a weakling in contrast to Gardner's vigorous, forthright approach; perhaps the truth is that both men are right, since the solution lies neither with the Negroes in the North nor in the South, but fundamentally with white men everywhere. The whole conflict between Negro leaders such as these two only emphasizes that fact more forcefully.

It is not the function of a novelist to offer a solution, but for those who insist upon it, perhaps that is the solution Mr. Moon suggests.

The failure of the North, in spite of its pretensions, is brought out by implication in the story of Alberta Mathews, whose tragic, unhappy flight from the segregation of the South is only, could she but see it, an exchange of one kind of slavery for another in New York. Her sister Bessie, Rogers' secretary, is bitten by the same freedom bug, but is happily saved from her sister's folly by Eric, whose career at the end of the book is uncertain. Luther Mathews, who gave up his chance for college in order to support the family and give his sisters that advantage, manages in his own way and becomes a voice in his labor union. With Luther, however, as with his white-collar sisters and friends, fear and the insecurity of the future are his constant companions.

The sociological thesis is not too much of a strain on the story values, and there is enough humor to sustain a realistic balance. Particularly amusing is the un-self-conscious way in which these Negroes can poke fun at themselves. There are some splendid characters, especially Bessie, Luther, Mrs. Mathews and Eric; but, on the whole, all the characters are well done. Only one thing leaves a bad taste: the casual treatment of pre-marital and extra-marital maneuvers of several of the characters. None of these affairs is essential to plot or character development, so why bring them in to mar an otherwise fine novel? Almost they defeat the purpose. How can you dignify the Negro and degrade him at the same time?

FORTUNATA CALIRI

FRANCIS J. BRACELAND, M.D., was Dean of the Medical School of Loyola University, Chicago, 1941-1942; Chief Psychiatrist, U. S. Navy, 1943-1946; and is now psychiatrist at the Mayo Clinic. THOMAS A. MCGOVERN, S.J., is following his theological studies at Woodstock College, Md.

THE WORD

"I DON'T LIKE IT," SAID THE MAN Across the Street. "I guess it's what they call a hard saying—and who can bear it?"

We were talking about the epistle for the third Sunday after Easter, in which St. Peter tells us: "Be ye subject therefore to every human creature for God's sake. . . . Servants, be subject to your masters . . . not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward."

The Man Across the Street frowned, and kicked a stone. "Froward!" he said. "You take that boss of mine. Sometimes I nearly hate him. He can be an awful grouch."

"So can I," I said.

He opened his mouth to protest. Then he closed it. I had an uneasy suspicion that he did not entirely disagree with me.

I hope there was no malice in my next statement. "And so can you," I told him.

He gave me a startled look. Then he grinned sheepishly.

"No doubt you've heard me bellowing at the kids sometimes," I went on. "I know I've heard you."

His face was brick-red.

"Yeah," he confessed—and kicked another stone.

"They don't hold it against us," I said.

He grinned. "It's funny. I've often thought of that. You roar at them, and they look at you with that astonishment in their eyes, and I suppose after you stomp away they say 'Pop's nervous today.' Makes you feel an awful fool—that expression in their eyes."

"You see," I said, "they love us. That makes all the difference. They forgive us because they love us."

There was a pause. Then I said: "You know what drives me wild? The radio. I make resolutions to be patient, but when they turn that thing on loud and some idiot starts screeching on some quiz program . . ."

He took my hand and shook it sol-

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Translated by Mary Ryan

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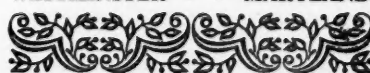
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emply. "Brother," he said, "I know what you mean. But the kids love it, and I suppose we ought to put up with it."

"It's one way of going to heaven," I agreed glumly.

We stood, digging our toes in the lawn. Then he said: "But about that epistle. . . . Do you mean we should forgive bosses and Governors and Senators and Presidents? We should love them?"

I shrugged. "Well, don't we?—by and large? We never stay angry at the Government. On March 15, yes. But not on March 16."

He glanced at me suspiciously. "You mean we go around behaving like Christians, without knowing it?"

"We do," I said. "Watch us obeying the traffic policeman, or the bus driver, or the elevator operator." I grinned. "Or our wives."

I stole a glance at the epistle: "*Be ye subject to every human creature.*" I shrugged again. "Well, we are, you know. We're tremendously patient and obedient. Now, if we'd just learn to do it for God's sake—presto! We'd be on our way to being saints."

The Man Across the Street kicked another stone with what seemed an unnecessary vehemence. "Yeah," he said. "I see what you mean. This is going to kill me, but I'll try it on that boss of mine—the old sourpuss."

JOSEPH A. BREIG

THEATRE

SOUTH PACIFIC, with Ezio Pinza and Mary Martin starred in the leading roles, an abundance of humor, captivating melodies and a touch of pathos, is beyond question the superlative production of the season; and I am not forgetting *The Silver Whistle*, *Love Life*, *Life with Mother* and *The Mad Woman of Chaillot*. The latest collaboration of Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein II, based on *Tales of the South Pacific*, a book that earned a Pulitzer Prize for James A. Michener, also includes two poignant love stories and a message of racial equality.

The scene, as the title implies, is on two indefinite islands in the Coral Sea;

the time is post-Pearl Harbor, when we were fighting a Fabian War; and the characters are a collection of sailors, Seabees, Navy nurses and natives. A French planter, grown rich and corpulent, lives on one of the islands; a nurse from Arkansas falls in love with him, and he with her. Their romance is the core of a blend of propaganda theatre and floor show that has both moral integrity and the color of an Easter bonnet.

Ezio Pinza, taking a sabbatical from grand opera, is as expert as one would expect as the leading male voice, and also discloses a talent for fluent acting. In a role that requires a variety of skills, from tenderness in emotional scenes to proficiency in low-comedy novelty dancing, Mary Martin shines as a versatile actress who can be queen or clown with equal facility. Myron McCormick, a reporter and a press agent in his most recent appearances, is hilarious as a conniving Seabee who, when the wind is right, can smell an honest dollar over miles of salt water. Juanita Hall, as a guileless native woman roguishly called Bloody Mary; William Tabbert, a Marine lieutenant; Martin Wolfson, a Navy captain; Betta St. John, a native girl; and Harvey Stephens, a commander, each and all are standouts in their respective roles. Less conspicuous members of the cast, collectively, deserve a bravo and a shower of confetti.

Joshua Logan, who collaborated with Mr. Hammerstein in writing the story, directed with a diamond-cutter's precision, and Jo Mielziner's sets, drops and lights, while providing an illusion of faraway places, are at times as interesting as interiors and seascapes painted for permanence. The costumes, by Motley, are persuasive as the make-shift finery a nurse would have to wear to an officers' dance and the one-piece denims a sailor would want to wear in a hot climate.

While all the songs except one, *You've Got to be Taught*, a vitriolic protest against race prejudice, will eventually appear on *The Hit Parade*, *Some Enchanted Evening*, an aria by Mr. Pinza, repeated as a duet with Miss Martin, will probably sprint to the number-one spot ahead of *Bali Ha'i* and *I'm Gonna Wash that Man Right outa My Hair*. The latter tunes, along with *I'm in Love with a Wonderful Guy*, and *There is Nothing Like a Dame*, will climb toward the top at a slower pace, and may never make it. Nevertheless they will make pleasing radio music in runner-up positions.

The comedy, in spots, is on the rowdy side, and the "Dame" number is a trifle sexy. But the overall tone of the production is so wholesome that it is difficult to see how anyone except the ultra-squeamish can be offended by those slight departures from decorum. The

6TH MONTH

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producers are Messrs. Rodgers and Hammerstein, in association with Leland Hayward and Joshua Logan. The theatre is The Majestic. *South Pacific*, if I haven't already mentioned it, is a splendid show. THEOPHILUS LEWIS

FILMS

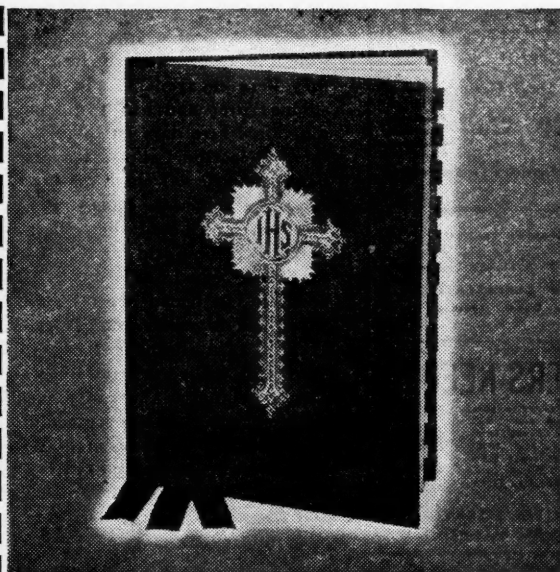
WE WERE STRANGERS. Advance reviews of this newest outpouring of writer-director John Huston have labeled it everything from a work of art to a bit of communist propaganda. With neither of these opinions do I concur. It is the story of a small group of underground workers whose part in a plot to overthrow a Cuban dictatorship of some fifteen years ago entailed intense labor and suffering for all of them and caused the death of two. What Huston seems to be saying is that even if a government is such as to provide justification for rebellion, the business of making one is nasty indeed. His characters are not only harassed by the physical risks and horrors of the undertaking but also tortured by uncertainty concerning the decisions they must make on its moral aspects. As a crowning irony their plan is frustrated and their work shown to have been futile and unnecessary. The difficulty with posing moral problems is that moral answers must also be found; whereas some of the conclusions reached in the film are inadequate. However, I find the featuring of erroneous consciences less upsetting than the alternative generally resorted to by the movies: that is, to discuss serious subjects without in any way indicating that such things as consciences and moral problems exist. As to quality, the picture is unrelentingly grim but none the less unrealistic at several crucial points: Jennifer Jones, whose every emotion shows on her face, makes a most unlikely conspirator; the motives of John Garfield, the idealistic American recruit, are not very convincing; Pedro Armendariz, as the secret-police chief, is more ludicrous than menacing. The reasoning behind the propaganda charge seems to be that in these days, when communist dictatorships cover half the globe, reference to a lesser tyranny of another time is a "red herring" in reverse. It seems to me, on the other hand, that any honest discussion of tyranny—and in that regard I thought *We Were Strangers* was honest—is bound today to suggest the communist parallel to the audience; also, that historical incidents are likely to make more effective movies than headlines torn from today's papers. (Horizon-Columbia)

THE BARKLEYS OF BROADWAY. The important news here of course is that Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers are back together again after an eight-year screen separation. It is a pleasure to report that age has not withered nor custom staled the magic of their dancing partnership. I wish the same could be said for their vehicle, which is a throw-back to the favorite musical-comedy plot of the period between the two wars. In it they pretend to be a scrappily married pair of Broadway headliners whose constant quarrels are supposed to be very gay and witty, but seem only to indicate that neither has reached the mental or emotional level of the average adolescent. Their chief

source of friction is that Ginger, egged on by an improbable French playwright, is convinced she has a future as a dramatic actress, while Fred maintains she has always been Trilby to his Svengali. The upshot of the matter is that she branches out to play Sarah Bernhardt in a serious play. From my seat her performance looked like conscious burlesque, but according to the story it was a triumph and served to reunite husband and wife by proving in some obscure fashion that they both had been partially right. The picture is elaborate, adult and Technicolored, with Oscar Levant giving the two stars their only noticeable support. (MGM)

MOIRA WALSH

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PARADE

ONCE AGAIN THE NEWS MIR-
 rored the casual attitude of modern
 man towards marriage. . . . In Kansas,
 a bride pleaded with the judge to waive
 the three-day waiting period for wed-
 dings because the wedding salad was
 prepared and would spoil if kept three
 days. Touched by the plea, the judge
 waived. . . . In New York, a twenty-
 three-year-old youth, bound for Cali-
 fornia, boarded a train. . . . Clambering
 onto the same train was a nineteen-year-
 old girl, also headed for California. . . .
 As the train moved out of the Big
 Town, the pair sat across the aisle from
 each other, total strangers. . . . By the
 time the train chugged into Chicago
 they were engaged. . . . In Iowa, they
 stopped over and had a quickie wed-
 ding. . . . Five days out of New York,
 they set foot on California soil as hus-
 band and wife. . . . Said the brand-new
 head of the house: "Almost as soon as
 I laid eyes on her, I knew she was the
 one girl in the world for me." . . . Said
 the adolescent bride: "Soon after he
 epoke to me, I made up my mind if he
 asked me to marry him I would say
 'Yes.'" . . . Perhaps these youthful
 love birds will go through life warbling
 this same tune. . . . The percentages,
 however, make such an outcome highly
 doubtful. . . . The percentages say that
 before many moons the pair will be
 singing a different tune. . . . Concerning
 the identity of the mystery melody in
 their future, one may form some notion

by turning on the divorce courts of
 America, and listening to the tunes now
 being sung by the love birds of yester-
 year. . . . The voices rising up from the
 divorce courts do not sound very ro-
 mantic. . . . In Chicago, a twenty-two-
 year-old wife testified that last Christ-
 mas her husband threw her down, sat
 on her and sang *Silent Night* as she
 writhed on the floor. . . . In Detroit, a
 seven-month bride told the judge that
 her spouse packed her clothes in suit-
 cases and threw them into the river.
 . . . In Wisconsin, a husband testified
 that every time he wanted to take a
 bath he found his wife's pet alligator
 in the tub. The wife kept the alligator,
 lost the husband. It would appear that
 she loved the alligator better.

The flimsiest pretext seemed suffi-
 cient to break up a home. . . . In Los
 Angeles, a screen actress, declaring that
 her husband did not like her hats, won
 a divorce. . . . In San Jose, a wife told
 the bench her husband washed out her
 mouth with soap. She floated out of
 court with a decree. . . . The pretexts
 advanced in court are usually not the
 real reasons for destroying family life.
 . . . In many cases, the husband or the
 wife or both have their eyes on some-
 one else. . . . Marriage is not merely a
 private affair. . . . It has social impli-
 cations, and the social destruction
 wrought by divorce is staggering. . . .
 In a divorce-soaked civilization, people
 enter matrimony lightly and seek escape
 when confronted with difficulties. . . .
 The children of broken homes suffer
 tragically. . . . Following a recent radio
 program entitled "The Children of
 Divorce," a newspaper columnist com-
 mented: "It was a bold and intelligent
 inquiry into the dilemma of two million
 youngsters. . . . products of wrecked
 marriages. . . . These are the children
 whose wounds never heal. . . . Even the
 ones who seem to be surviving may
 grow up neurotic."

The divorced spouses themselves
 never taste peace of soul, for that comes
 only from God whose law they have
 outraged. . . . Today, divorce is eating
 away at the very foundation upon which
 the nation rests, that is, the family. . . .
 If the nation is to endure, this insidious
 process must be halted. . . . There is a
 way to halt the deadly threat. . . . It was
 outlined by Christ when He said:
 "Whom God hath joined together let
 no man put asunder."

JOHN A. TOOMEY

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American freedom and Catholic power

The editors of AMERICA have called my attention to the criticisms of the National Conference of Christians and Jews contained in *American Freedom and Catholic Power* (Beacon Press publication), by Paul Blanshard, and have asked for my comments.

Mr. Blanshard castigates the National Conference, for, as he says, blandly ignoring the Catholic position on the "One True Faith," for withholding its criticism of Catholic marriage legislation, for remaining silent in face of the general provisions of the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, and for failing to speak out against parochial schools. He says these things show the hierarchy is "bigoted in regard to both Protestantism and Jewry"—which is perhaps a charge worth arguing about. But when he says that in holding these views the Catholic Church is not only arrogant, not only "bigoted," but anti-Semitic, he is letting the fervor of the advocate run away with him.

His clinching argument in support of this allegation of anti-Semitism is that "The Church did not remove the phrase 'perfidious Jews' from its Good Friday prayers until 1948." It was the International Council of Christians and Jews, among others, which urged the authorities in Rome to give consideration to the Good Friday prayers. Hence I feel warranted in saying that our study of the case convinced us that the Catholic Church has never taught that the Latin *pro perfidis Judaeis* means "perfidious Jews." The phrase meant "unbelieving Jews," the word "unbelieving" having reference to belief in the Divinity of Christ. In response to several petitions, and in order to make this unmistakably clear, a declaration of the Holy Office was issued in 1948. The Church did not "remove" the phrase.

As to Mr. Blanshard's innuendo that the National Conference of Christians and Jews has been guilty of any kind of concealment *vis-à-vis* the Catholic position, I can only point to the fact that the NCCJ pamphlet, *Building Bridges*—quoted by Mr. Blanshard—gives a succinct summary of Catholic belief which does not hedge on the questions he raises.

TERMS OF COOPERATION

What Mr. Blanshard is saying, of course, is not that this organization of Protestants, Catholics and Jews, dedicated as it is to cooperation in the civic field and to the mitigation of prejudice and bigotry, is not doing what it ought, but that it can't do anything at all; that such an organization is inherently impossible in this country because, he alleges, Catholic principles and practices are repugnant and intolerable to other Americans.

CORRESPONDENCE

He implies that non-Catholic Americans cannot get along with their Catholic fellow citizens except upon the condition that the Catholics surrender their Catholicism—that they disavow their spiritual allegiance to the Pope; that their moral preceptors abdicate their right to pass judgment on the morality of such things as contraception and euthanasia; that they yield their powers and privileges to maintain hospitals and medical schools consistent with their moral principles; and that they give up the right to provide a religious education for their children even in their own schools.

It is unthinkable that any fair-minded reader will subscribe to such a program; and the well-disposed reader may find some other things in this book also that will give him pause. He will note that Mr. Blanshard gives the impression that, on any given point to which he happens to be devoting his attention, non-Catholics are lined up solidly with him and against Catholics. I doubt that this is true with respect to a single one of the points he discusses; and I am sure he is egregiously wrong on some of them.

QUESTIONS OF DOCTRINE

On the question of divorce and birth control, there will be many non-Catholics in agreement with the position which Mr. Blanshard seeks to make out as solely a Catholic position. On the question of euthanasia, there will be vastly more of them.

I think very few Protestants will go along with the implications of his remark that Jesus "never said anything specific about . . . sexual perversion, masturbation or sterilization."

Even on the doctrine of exclusivity of truth, he will encounter some Protestants and Jews who accept that principle, applying it, of course, to their own respective faiths; and other non-Catholics, knowing this to be true, may not feel that Mr. Blanshard is fair in condemning Catholics alone for such a belief.

In this connection, the National Conference of Christians and Jews does not believe that the adherents of Protestantism, Catholicism and Judaism must admit that their respective faiths are wrong, or even that they might be wrong, as a condition of participating in this work of good will.

Mr. Blanshard taunts Catholic schools because of their lack of academic freedom, and he is scandalized by his understanding of the doctrine, "No

salvation outside the Church." One wonders what he would make of the recent dismissal of the four teachers by the Catholic college in Boston because they would not discontinue their literal teaching of that doctrine.

It is for these reasons, among others that I am not too apprehensive about the effect this book will have on Catholic-non-Catholic relations. Undiscriminating readers who are looking for a stick to beat the Catholic Church with, will find this a pretty good stick. But such people always manage to find one kind of stick or another, and I doubt that the availability of this additional one is going to make a great deal of difference in their behavior or its effectiveness.

RESERVATIONS

All of this is not to say, however, that there is nothing in this book to perturb honest non-Catholics. The most upsetting things—not new—are the quotations from Msgr. John A. Ryan (p. 53), and from *Civiltà Cattolica* (p. 295), which suggest that if Catholics ever attain a preponderant majority in this country, they may proscribe public exercise of all non-Catholic religions, and presumably the circulation of Protestant and Jewish papers, magazines and books. This is a matter of considerable concern to all non-Catholics, even those whose disposition to their Catholic neighbors is most friendly. I am aware of what Archbishop McNicholas said in January of 1948 (quoted by Mr. Blanshard, but dismissed cavalierly), and of what all the bishops of the National Catholic Welfare Conference said in November of the same year (strangely ignored by Mr. Blanshard). These statements have been greatly reassuring to Protestants and Jews. But not completely reassuring, because they are statements of practice and pledges of performance rather than definitions of principle. What many honest and fair-minded non-Catholics would like to know is not so much what the present generation of American Catholics intends to do in the matter of the liberty of conscience of their fellow citizens, or what they think future generations of American Catholics will do, but whether it is true that the Catholic Church still affirms the principles expressed by Msgr. Ryan and by *Civiltà Cattolica*.

EVERETT R. CLINCHY, President,
National Conference of Christians
and Jews

New York, N. Y.

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